

06
LETTER
TO

The Right Honourable

W. P. Esq;

By **GEORGE COADIE;**
Merchant, of Exeter

THE SECOND EDITION.



LONDON.

Printed for, and sold by, J. SCOTT, at the
Black Swan, in Pater-noster-Row. 1758. 873

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

46
700 19

**N. B. This Book is duely enter'd
at the Stationers Hall: And whoever
presumes to print it will be prosecuted
as the Law directs.**



T O

The Right Honourable

W. P. Esq;

S I R,

THE following Tract was begun and ended soon after your first Accession to the Ministerial Dignity. But at the very Time I was about to send it to the Press, our Publick New-Papers inform'd me of your having resign'd; — or, in other Words, had been fairly turn'd out. — Whereupon I laid it aside, without any Intention to print it then, or at any future Time.

As you have since been re-instated, and Things continue to go on without any visible or apparent Alteration, I am now come to a Resolution to print it, in the same Manner as it then stood, without making any Alterations or Additions. Such as it

is I present it you; and you may give it what Reception you please.

O T

I am a Writer, Sir; that ever has been, and even shall remain, unpaid and for the most Part unthank'd. However, nothing shall deter me from throwing in my Mite, to serve my flaking Country.

I don't write from a Spirit of Vanity or Lucre, nor to please any Great Man, or any Body or Party of Men. So far from it, that the following Sheets were all wrote (amidst a Variety of other Engagements of a very different Nature) without the Aid or Assistance, the Knowledge or Privity of any one Person whatever. The Points are really of Importance; and I should greatly rejoice to see them undertaken by some abler Hand.

I submit the Whole to your most serious Consideration, and remain, with the highest Esteem and Regard,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

5
Sir, you have the Honour to serve a Prince
that is Brave and Wise, Respectable and Just.

~~And from that respect and account of Honour~~

which has been to conspicuous and remarkable
in most other Princes in the World over. And
this is your peculiar Felicity and which few o-
ther Great Princes can boast of. As for as long

L E T T E R

as you act with Honesty and Diligence, and
readily pursue the Honour of your King, and

the Good of your Country, to
the Protection of your Royal Master, and the

Effect and Affection of all wise and good

Men, of whatever Rank, Degree, or

I HAVE lately seen in my News-Paper se-
veral Letters to Your worthy Self. And,

as a Freedom of Speech is the unaliena-
ble Right of every British Subject, I beg

Leave, in my Turn, to submit the succeeding
Tract to your calm and deliberate Considerati-

on. I have no Intention to affront you; but

shall treat you with that Decency and Respect
that is really due to a Gentleman of your ex-

alted Station. However, I shall speak to you,
and of you, with the Freedom of an indepen-

dent Man: And the Importance of the Subject
shall be my only Apology.

I congratulate you, Sir, on your late Ad-
vancement. His Majesty, in his great Wis-

dom and Prudence, has thought fit to promote
You, in Preference to many others, to a Place,

in which you are to be intrusted with the Pri-
mary Operations of Government. Consider,

Sir,

Sir, you have the Honour to serve a PRINCE that is Brave and Wise, Equitable and Just, free from that restless and accursed Ambition which has been so conspicuous and remarkable in most other Princes all the World over. And this is your peculiar Felicity, and which few other Great Ministers can boast of. And as long as you act with Honesty and Diligence, and steadily pursue the Honour of your King, and the Safety and real Good of your Country, so long, and no longer, you may firmly rely on the Protection of your Royal Master, and the Esteem and Affection of all wise and good Men, of whatever Rank, Degree, or Party.

That the *Form* of our Government is preferable to that of any other, is generally allow'd: But the *People*, for whose sakes alone all Government was principally instituted, are not so much interested in the *Form* or *Model* of any Government, as in the *Administration* of it. It is *that* alone which makes any Government easy and happy, or wretched and miserable.

Our Government, in its natural Frame and Constitution, is of so complicated and extended a Nature, that it is impossible for any Prince to manage and conduct the Whole himself: And from hence arises the Necessity of a MINISTRY; and for the greater and more regular Dispatch, our Ancestors wisely thought proper to distinguish it into various different Branches,

• • For *Business* of Government let *Fools* contend:

• Whatsoever is *best* administer'd is *best*.

POPE'S *Essay on Man*.

and the most honest and capable Men were then sought for, to superintend and manage each in their different Departments. But of late Years we have been accustom'd to have One Grand Premier Minister to preside over and superintend the Whole.— This, Sir, we apprehend, is *your* present Station. The Eyes of Millions are upon YOU, and from *your* Wisdom and Prudence we expect Deliverance and Salvation.

The grand Mass and Body of the People of *England* are certainly as honest, as brave, and worthy, as any on the Terrestrial Globe, and as capable of forming a just, solid, and right Judgment of Things, when freed from the Restraint and Influence of their Civil and Ecclesiastical Leaders. The Bulk of the People, all, thought a Change in the late Administration was become absolutely necessary. Whether this general Opinion of the People was founded in Truth and Reality, is not my Business to determine; but that they were of such an Opinion is visible and most apparent.

But vain and ridiculous is the Change of *Mén*, if *Measures* are not *chang'd*.

It has been usual for Great Men in Power to insinuate to their Inferiors, that their State and Condition has a vast deal of Art and Mystery in it, and that the Execution of it requires great and mighty Abilities. But this, Sir, is all false and delusive.— The only Qualifications absolutely necessary and essential are downright Honesty, a firm and unbiass'd Attach-

ment to the Honour of their King, to the real Good and Welfare of the People, great Diligence and Application, — with a little plain Common Sense. These are the chief and principal Qualifications: All which, we have the Pleasure to reflect, YOU enjoy in a great and eminent Degree.

But the History of most Nations informs us of many Great and Able Men who have very worthily acquir'd the Summit, or highest Pitch, of Power in their respective Kingdoms, and have enter'd upon it with honourable Intentions; but, in a short Time after, they seem to be transported with the sudden Change of their Condition; they grow giddy and wanton, become insolent and proud, with the Direction of Imperial Power.

Men in a Torrent of Prosperity seldom think of a Day of Distress, or Great Men that their Greatness will ever cease. And it is from this foolish Supposition, often cleaving to Great Men, that they are induced to act with such Boldness and Insolence, as if their Reign was never to end, and that they should for ever remain secure against all After-Reckonings, Casualties, and Disgrace. And from this blind Security in the Permanence of their Condition, and in the Impunity of their Actions, they are often induced to sacrifice the Honour of their Prince, the Safety and real Good of his Subjects.

No Minister would ever form Schemes of oppressing, impoverishing, and plundering the People,

People, if he would but consider that probably one Time or other he himself, his Family, and Friends, may suffer in the common Oppression. No Minister would ever concert Measures to depreciate, evade, or abrogate, our Laws, if he would but consider that he may come to want the Protection of those very Laws himself. Whenever any Minister attempts to lay Restraints upon Liberty, and to form Projects of arbitrary and despotic Rule, his real Reason is for having the Direction of it himself against others; which he would not do, if he did but consider that one Time or other he may fall under the Weight and Terror of it in his own Person.

There is really something in the Nature of Power that is infatuating and bewitching. The longer a Man is in Possession of it, the more ambitious and tenacious he grows; till, at last, he comes deliberately to sacrifice every Consideration, even the most solemn and sacred, to the Continuance of his own Power: Of which we have seen many Instances in our own as well as in many other Nations.

In the first Place, I must recommend to your most calm and serious Reflection our present State and Condition. You see plainly we are groaning under an immense Load of Debt, perhaps no less than 80 Millions hanging over our Heads, like so many Millstones, threatening one Time or other our utter Ruin, with innumerable heavy and enormous Taxes on every thing we eat, drink, or wear. They are

now become so universal as hardly to be capable of any further Extensions.

I have heard of some former Ministers, who would vainly boast, that the Wealth of this Kingdom is inexhaustible, and that the People would bear any thing. But this is all false and ridiculous: A Kingdom or Nation may as easily be ruin'd as a private Man or Family; and the same Means that procures the one will the other: They only differ as in Greater or Lesser. This is undoubtedly our present Situation.

I must likewise, in a very peculiar Manner, recommend to your Wisdom and Prudence one general Rule: Manage the Publick Treasure with the greatest Parsimony and Frugality, and endeavour by your Influence and Example to encourage the same amongst all those who have the least Share in the Direction of it. Consider, dear Sir, you are only the Steward of the People's Purse; and what a Breach of Trust, what a Breach of Honour, nay, how cruel and criminal it is, to apply the People's Money to any other Use or Purpose than the real Good and Benefit of the People! I could mention to you many States and Governments that have been entirely ruin'd and destroy'd merely by their own Profuseness and Prodigality. In all Countries the same Causes will produce the same Effects. When Princes and Ministers have, by their monstrous Wastfulness and Dissipation, brought themselves into Streights and Difficulties, what comes next? Then they must have Recourse to every low
Trick

[II]

Trick, and mean Expedient, to ruin and impoverish Kingdoms and Nations. And this naturally produces a general Disgust and Discontent, and sooner or later will end in Popular Com-motions, and a Civil War. A profuse Admini-stration is always loose, disrespected, and tot-tering: A prudent and frugal Administration of the Publick Treasure is always a Sign of a well-governed State; which can never be well governed where the Publick Treasure is wasted and misapply'd.

The *Spanish* Historians tell us, that after the Discovery of the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, vast and most amazing Treasures were annually brought to *Spain*; and yet, notwithstanding all this, their Government continued, for a long Succession of Years, in a State of the most scan-dalous Poverty; and, at last, when this be-came an Object of Public Enquiry, it present-ly appear'd that their Finances were most mi-serably managed, and lavish'd away in Misap-plications, by enormous Pensions, Grants, and Annuities; and thereby the Bulk of this Trea-sure was diverted from the real Use of the State. Believe me, Sir, no Revenue in the World is sufficient to bear constant and large Embezzlements.

To me it has ever appeared infamous in any Man to accept of large Pensions, Bounties, and Annuities, from the Publick, if he can live decently without them; and those that do it ought to be esteemed at best but Public Almsh-men; a Character every Man of Fortune or

Virtue ought to avoid and detest. I will readily grant that every Man that serves the Publick ought to be honourably paid: But then this Service should not be monstrously over-rated and over-valued, nor the Reward continued after the Service is ended. How unreasonable then is it to grant exorbitant Pensions to those who can very well live without them, and, which is worse, to those who have never deserved them!

Our own Historians tell us, that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (to her immortal Honour and Renown), in her Court, Majesty and Thrift shone for the Preheminence; no Prodigality on one Side, no Meanness on the other; — no squeezing and draining the People. And by this Conduct her Majesty and Ministers procur'd the concurrent Affection and Fidelity of all her Subjects.

I could mention a thousand Advantages that would naturally attend a prudent and frugal Administration of the Publick Treasure: But I will detain you no longer on this Head, and shall submit it to your serious Reflection. And your own Reason and Conscience must tell you, that there never was any Conjunction wherein this Point became more necessary and important than at this present Period of Time.

The next Thing that falls under Consideration is to caution you against too violent Attachment to any one particular Party. There are really Men of Honesty and Capacity of all Parties. I am a Whig, Sir, and, I think, as firmly

firmly attach'd to Principles of Whigism as any Man can be, or at least ought to be. Yet I solemnly believe it would be more for the Interest of this Nation to be under an Administration of honest, sober, and prudent Tories, than under an Administration of cunning, artful, and crafty Whigs; who mind nothing but enriching themselves, their Families, and Friends, and be eternally draining and squeezing the People. And I dare say there are many Thousands of Whigs in this Kingdom who would cheerfully concur in the same Sentiments; — and I doubt not but there are vast Numbers of People who esteem themselves, and are esteemed by others, as Tories, who had much rather see the Administration in the Hands of honest prudent Whigs than in the Hands of Tories whose Minds are beclouded with Ignorance, Darkness, Hereditary Right, High Church, Absurdity, and Nonsense.

The State and Condition of our two contending Parties, Whigs and Tories, in *England*, is vastly alter'd and chang'd from what it was twenty or thirty Years since. They have now had a fair and open Ecclaircissement: They have compar'd Notes, and both Parties agree that they will not be bought and sold like Sheep and Asses, as they have formerly been.: Their Eyes are open'd; they plainly see they have been most horribly impos'd on by their Civil and Ecclesiastical Leaders, and that there is not a thousandth Part of the real Difference between them as they have been made to believe:

lieve. They all aim at the same Thing; that is, all the honest and sensible Part of them, (though perhaps by means somewhat different) that is, the real Good and Welfare of their Country. Depend on it, Sir, the People of *England* will be no longer amus'd with Party and ridiculous Names. The Leaders of both our Parties will never more be able to play those low Tricks and Games as they have formerly done. The grand Mass and Body of the People will think for themselves; they will reason for themselves; and they will make a solid and right Judgment of Things, and of Men: And if they find themselves under a weak, wicked, profuse, extravagant, and oppressive Administration, such an Administration may rest satisfied (let them call themselves by what Party Names they please) that they will be pursued by the united Vengeance of all the honest and worthy Men of all Parties whatsoever. And, as Things now stand with us, let any Minister obstinately determine to do what is right and just, he may safely rely on the Fidelity and Affections of the People; they will support him with all their Might, with all their Strength, and with all their Souls.

It's my sincere Desire that your Administration be long and permanent; which can never be, unless you fix yourself on a firm and honest Foundation at first setting out, laying aside all little, low, mean Tricks, all little temporary Expedients. --- Do nothing in private that you are either afraid or ashamed should be known

known to the whole World.— Let me intreat you not to be too ambitious and tenacious of Power. If you can't stand, honestly and fairly, give up, and retire at once.

Cincinnatus at *Rome*, when he found the Government unhing'd, and every thing conducted by the mere Force of Bribery, Venality, and Corruption, fairly retir'd, and gave up. But this State of Things could not last long: Every thing naturally fell into a State of Disorder and Confusion; and the Clamours of the aching People oblig'd the Senate to bring him again on the Stage. If you, Sir, will act on this noble and righteous Foundation, your Case may probably be the same. But when a Minister comes to be too tenacious of Power, it's dangerous to his Prince, to himself, and oftentimes destructive to the People; as he will then be oblig'd to sacrifice every Consideration, though ever so important, to his own Continuance in Power.

I have heard and read of a certain Great and All-powerful Minister, who for a long Succession of Years held and maintain'd a much greater Share of Power than ever any single Man had done before. The Publick Treasure was at his sole Command; all Pensions, Places, Bounties, and every Degree of Preferment, went through his Hands alone, from the highest to the lowest. Yet with this vast and amazing Accession he plainly saw he could not stand: But his Thirst of Power remain'd so great and insatiable, that, instead of giving up,

as he ought to have done, he fell into a most iniquitous Method; and in a very short Time spread an universal Spirit of the most open and barefac'd Bribery, Perjury, Venality, and Corruption, through every Corner of the Land, with its natural Attendants, a continued State of Riot, Disorder, and Excess. But this, in the Event, he found to be a mean and temporary Expedient, and could not last long; he plainly saw no Revenue could bear such constant Dissipation and Embezzlement: He emptied the Coffers of his Royal Master, and, if my Information is right, anticipated the Payments of many Branches of the Revenue, and even threw into the Bargain a considerable Share of his own private Fortune. Yet all proved ineffectual; he was forc'd to give up and retire.

The Foundation on which he stood was wicked and unrighteous, and therefore could not be permanent and durable. Could he have prevail'd with himself to have retir'd sooner, or as soon as he found he could not stand fairly and honestly, his natural Talents and Abilities were so conspicuous and apparent, that he would probably have been brought again on the Stage of Action; and, if he had acted right, he might have liv'd and died in the highest Esteem and Reputation, and have transmitted his Name and Character to Posterity with Honour and Renown. Happy for his Country he fell when he did! It was impossible for him to be of any real Use or Utility, nor any other Minister in the like Situation:

All

All his Time, all his Study, all his Pains and Diligence, Morning, Noon, and Night, eating and drinking, sleeping and waking, were solely employed on one single Point, viz. I must have, I will have, a firm and unshaken Majority in a certain H——, cost what it will.

In the Conduct of this Great Minister there is nothing at all strange or alarming. The Histories of many Countries furnish us with a Variety of Examples of Great Men so accursedly tenacious of their Power, that, rather than give up, they would contrive and execute the Ruin of Thousands, or perhaps Millions, both in their Bodies, their Souls, and Estates.

This insatiable Thrift of Power is a Point I must recommend to your Consideration with the utmost Seriousness and Solemnity. For God's Sake, for your own Sake, and for the Sake of these poor sinking Kingdoms, fix yourself on an honourable and equitable Foundation; and if you can't stand honestly, give up at once. But during your Continuance in Power, let me intreat you, at all Times, and on all Occasions, most steadily to pursue one main and grand Object, the real Good and Welfare of the People; and endeavour, by every possible Method, to raise the Dignity, Reputation, and Power of the *British* Name and Nation all the World over. And the Means of doing it are plain and obvious: The Improvement and further Cultivation of our Lands, the giving the utmost Encouragement to all our various Manufactures, and a constant and uninterrupted

Security to our Navigation, and a fixed and obstinate Resolution to render it more and more considerable and extensive in all Parts and Corners of the habitable World. These, my dear Friend, are Points that claim the Study and Attention of a *British* Minister; and I will be so bold as to say, that I defy all the past, present, or future Ministers, to the End of the World, ever to bring any the least real Addition to the Power, Wealth, or Dominion of these Kingdoms, by any other Way or Means whatsoever.

I now, Sir, come to another Point of equal, if not of greater Importance than the former.

Our Antient Books and Records inform us, that when the Limited Monarchical Government was first established in *England*, it was the mutual and concurrent Agreement, absolutely settled by the Three Constituent Parties which compose the supreme Legislature of this Kingdom, that the Commons of *England* were to be always chosen freely by the People, in a Manner quite undisturbed and unmolested, and that the two other Constituent Parts were on no Account, nor under any Pretence whatever, to interfere in any Manner or Shape with the Elections of the Commons of *England*. This is what our Ancestors called the Constitution, or the original Compact between the Governors and Governed most solemnly made and concluded. Now, if in any future Period of Time, one or both of the two other Constituent Parts of the Legislature should take in their Heads,

Heads, by a Variety of Ways and Means, to destroy, and deprive the People of this their antient and indubitable Right, by any illegal and undue Influence or Practice, — I only say should such a Thing happen (which God forbid), would not this be deemed by all honest and sensible Men as a Subversion of this Constitution, and a most open and notorious Violation of this primary and original Compact? If it is not so, it really appears to me to have a near Affinity to it. But to speak out plainly: A due Ballance and Independency of the Constituent Parts of the Legislative Power is absolutely necessary to the very Being and Existence of our Constitution; and it is required by the Spirit, the Design, and Intention of our Constitution. And when one Part becomes dependent on the other, the Constitution may be said to be dangerously alter'd and chang'd; but if one Part comes to over-balance either of the other two, then it becomes totally subverted.

From this Point alone arose the Necessity of so many Laws having been enacted from Time to Time to prevent Bribery and Corruption, and against Placemen and Pensioners. For what Freedom and Sincerity of Speech can be expected from our Representatives, if a Pecuniary Interest should ever prevail amongst 'em? A wicked and ambitious Minister, who would then distribute the Corruption, might raise to himself a Faction, who, partaking of his Bounty, and expecting to share with him in the

Spoils of his Country, would support him in all his most destructive Measures. What, then, Sir, would become of all our boasted Liberty, and of all our most sacred Rights and Privileges ! You should have it always strongly impress'd upon your Mind, that the People of *England* do not owe their natural Rights and Privileges to the Concession of any of their Kings or Princes : No, certainly ; they are originally free ; that is, they are born brave and free ; which Liberties and Freedoms were handed down to them at an amazing Expence of Blood and Treasure. I hope and trust in God this will never be our Case ; but if it should in any future Period of Time, and the Guardians of our Nation degenerate into little more than Ministerial Tools, I believe in my Conscience, and in my most calm and serious Moments, that *Great-Britain* in such a Situation may be ruin'd and enslav'd with more Ease and Facility, under the specious Name of an Act of Parliament, than by any other Way or Means that can possibly be devis'd.

During your Administration we have nothing to fear of this Kind. I persuade myself your innate Uprightness and Integrity will never permit you to set out on so wicked and sandy a Foundation. But let us suppose, for once, you were in this Particular to follow the Steps of some of your Predecessors ; it would be the most ill-judg'd Policy in the World : You would find the Demands of the Corrupted
daily

daily to increase, and soon become so very enormous, that you could not possibly gratify them.

In your present Situation the mere Force of Necessity will oblige you to a more frugal and parsimonious Management of the Public Treasure; you will not be able to support such a continued State of Dissipation and Embezzlement as some Ministers have formerly done. And here you will very probably reply, that you will find out some fresh Resources, some new and additional Taxes. But this won't do, Sir. Consider a Moment what a vast Share of the present Taxes falls on the poor Labouring People of this Nation: Should you lay new Taxes on the Necessaries or Essentials, of Life, you'll advance the Price of Labour, and thereby we shall be all ruin'd and undone at once, from the highest to the lowest. I don't mention this from Books or Records, but from my own Knowledge and Experience, having been conversant in Affairs of a Mercantile and Commercial Kind, for a great Number of Years, in most Parts of *Europe*.

The *French* have a prodigious and amazing Advantage over us in Point of Labour already. The *French* Ministry ever since the Days of *Colbert* (who first put it into their Heads) have been endeavouring, by every possible Method, to cultivate and increase a prevailing Spirit of Temperance, Frugality, and Industry, amongst their Labouring People; and for that Purpose have abolished a great Number of their Holidays; wisely concluding, that the Labour of the

the People is the only Source and Foundation of their Wealth and Power.

In *England* the Case is exactly the same. But we have unhappily acted a different Part; and by a Variety of Ways and Means have been endeavouring to promote and encourage amongst our Labouring People a general Spirit of Riot and Excess, Wickedness, Idleness, and Debauchery. What an infinite Loss has this Kingdom sustained by that iniquitous Practice of *Randying* at the Time of Elections, and, in many Boroughs, four and six Months before the Election comes on!

I have been informed by many Gentlemen in the West of *England* (on whose Veracity I can rely), that at the last General Election above Thirty-five thousand Pounds, clean hard Money, were spent at *Honiton*, *Fauntton*, and *Barnstaple*, three Borough Towns, and that full Two Thirds of it was consum'd in Drinkables. It's really amazing to sit down and consider what horrible Scenes of Excess and Debauchery, what Idleness and Wickedness, are daily committed on this Occasion. No Work done of any Kind; all Trades, Fabricks, or Manufactures, quite and entirely suspended. Besides, when our Labouring People have been accustomed to live in this Manner for three or four Months, in a continued State of Idleness and Drunkenness, it vitiates and corrupts their Minds to such a Degree as renders vast Numbers of them unfit for Labour ever afterward. It also destroys their Constitutions, that Multi-
tudes

tudes of them die within the Space of Twelve Months; and their Wives and Families must be maintain'd by the Lands: Of which, if I had more Time, I could give you some particular and very striking Instances, collected from some of our Borough Towns. This confirms what I have already hinted, that when Great Men become too tenacious and ambitious of Power, rather than part with it they won't at all boggle at sacrificing the Bodies and Souls of the People by Hundreds, by Thousands, or perhaps by Millions, if it falls in their Way.

Besides all those antient and primary Contracts, solemnly made and concluded by and between the Governors and Governed, the Right of the People's electing the Commons, in a Manner quite free and undisturbed, has been again very lately most solemnly and publicly recognized and ascertained; I mean at the late Revolution. It was then unanimously declar'd and agreed, that the Election of the Commons ought and should be free. This, with some other Points, was declared and enacted to be the true, ancient, and indubitable Right of the People of *England*, and so shall be *Esteemed, Allowed, Adjudged, and Taken to be*. Vide the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement pass'd at the Prince of *Orange's* Accession to the Crown of these Realms. From hence it evidently appears, that if any future Minister, either by Rewards or Punishments, by Promises or Threats, should make use of any undue and pecuniary

pecuniary-Influence, it ought to be esteemed not only as a Subversion of our Ancient Constitution, or that Original Compact solemnly made and concluded between the Governors and Governed, but also totally repugnant to all the Revolutionary Laws and Principles.

If I am not mistaken, we are prohibited by an express Law to write any thing repugnant to the Revolution. If our Legislature has made it criminal to write against it, it must certainly be deemed abundantly more so to act openly and barefacedly against one of its most solemn Injunctions. It is the Constitution, Sir, that is, or at least ought to be, the primary Object of every true *Englishman*. When once this is given up or subverted, we no longer remain Freemen, but instantly become mean and abject Slaves. It's Time to finish on this Head: I have only one short Remark to make on what has been already advanced, *viz.* It is certainly the Duty of every true Friend to his Country to exert himself to the utmost, according to his Talents and particular Station, in the Publick Service: And should you be of Opinion that our Constitution has been alter'd and chang'd, it is your Duty, by every possible Method, to restore it and bring it back to its primary and original Intention; and which was again most solemnly ratify'd and confirm'd at the late glorious Revolution, by the then King, Lords, and Commons. But this can never be effected, unless the People be allowed to elect the Commons in a Manner quite free, unmolested, undisturbed,

disturbed, and without any pecuniary or undue Influence, of what Kind or Nature soever.

I come now to another Point of a very different Nature, but of equal Importance with the last; which is, to recommend to you to enter into a nice and critical Enquiry into the present State and Condition of our Royal Navy, and into the Talents and Abilities of all those Gentlemen who have the Chief Command of it. And if you find any that have not the Talents that are properly adapted to the Sea Service, you should get them turn'd out, without any Restriction as to Persons or Parties, and replace others that may appear more and better qualify'd. But before I proceed any farther on this Point I will relate the Substance of a long Conversation which a Friend of mine (a Gentleman of considerable Rank) had in the last War with Sir *Charles Wager*, at his House in *London*. The Recital of this Story affected me so much, that soon after I reduced it to Writing, and it stands in the following Words:— He went to Sir *Charles Wager's* House on some particular Business relating to the Navy; and after a little Conversation Sir *Charles* began to speak out with no small Degree of Warmth and Vehemence, and declar'd, that for a great Number of Years his highest Ambition had been to leave the *British* Navy in as good a Condition as he found it; and that as to the Ships he should leave them in a much better State than he found them, both as to their Number and real Goodness and Value; but as

to the Hands they were in, they were infinitely worse now than at the Time he first came to the Direction of the Navy; and that our Navy may be said to be half ruin'd and undone; and that the Fault lay at the Door of one single Man, who for a long Succession of Years had been continually sending and promoting a vast Number of People in the Navy, who had no Talents or Abilities for it, either natural or acquir'd. My Friend reply'd, that all or the greatest Part of those People so sent and promoted in the Navy were the Sons of Persons of great Rank and Distinction, many of them the Sons of our Nobility and Top Gentry; and consequently the Regard they would have to their own Honours and Characters would oblige them to fight, and behave well. To which Sir *Charles* answer'd; It's all the worse for that, as I must tell you that in the Navy there is a much greater Necessity for establishing a strict Order, Discipline, and Subordination, than in the Land Service; and from my first Entrance into the Navy I have always observ'd, that it's impossible to keep those young Gentry to that strict Discipline that is necessary: And, besides, when they are guilty of great Irregularities, and wilful Neglects of their Duty, they are so connected and ally'd to Great Families that they are sure to escape without Censure or Punishment. And by these Means the Naval Laws have in a great Measure lost that Weight and Influence which they formerly had, and ought ever to have. Sir *Charles* goes on,

on, and says, " Consider, Sir, for a Moment, the Manner of Life and Education of those young Gentry. They are educated and brought up in great Delicacy, Softness, Pleasures, and Effeminacy, and can't be suppos'd to have Talents properly adapted to the Sea Service. Besides, I could mention to you many of those People that have large Fortunes, and are Heirs to great Estates; and it's ridiculous to suppose that Men in such Circumstances shall expose their Persons to such great and apparent Dangers as the Sea Service frequently requires, and which Men of the lower Rank and Station of Life will be induced to undergo, in order to raise their Fortunes and Characters." Sir *Charles* then concluded, by saying, " These Sentiments of mine, Sir, are founded on more than 40 Years Experience." My Friend said he was really run a-ground, and could make no Reply; only whisper'd softly in Sir *Charles's* Ear, that with all this Sort of Management we can but just keep our Heads above Water, and without it we must sink, and can't stand a Month longer; and this you know as well as I.

My Friend said he came home from Sir *Charles Wager's* House alone in his Coach, and pretty late in the Evening; and that the Consideration of what Sir *Charles* told him made even his very Heart to tremble, and the more so as he knew the same Sort of Management had prevailed in the Army.

You'll reply, This is a hear-say Story: And so it really is. You may believe it or not, just

as you please : But the Gentleman from whose Mouth I had it related it with so much Concern and Solemnity, that I then did, and do at this Moment, believe every Word of it to be true.

When I consider the vast Importance of our Navy, and that our very Being and Existence as a Nation depends entirely upon it, to me it appears the most damnable of all Heresies in Politicks, that our Navy should be sacrificed, neglected, and put into improper Hands ; and from no other Motive in the World than to support and secure one single Man, or one single Party, or one single Faction. I could write a Volume, Sir, to convince you of the Iniquity and Danger of such Transactions ; but I will proceed no further, only submit it to your own calm and deliberate Reflections.

I now come to another Point. In all Governments it has been esteem'd consistent with National Wisdom and Policy for Great Men, or Ministers of State, frequently to consider and reflect on the prevailing Tempers, Sentiments, and Dispositions of the People over whom they are called to preside. Was you now, Sir, to travel into every County in *England*, and to collect Five hundred People out of each County, all of the most knowing, the most honest, and intelligent Sort, and from all our different Parties and Ranks, that is, from amongst our Country Gentlemen, Merchants, Traders, Manufacturers, Farmers, Graiers, &c. &c. &c. however various and different their Opinions may be

be in other Matters, you'll most certainly find them all concur and agree in one general Sentiment that our poor Nation is in a most sinking and declining State, and that we have now lost all that Splendor, Weight, and Dignity in *Europe*, which we formerly maintained; and that without a thorough and immediate Change in our whole and entire System both of foreign and domestic Policy, we must in a very short Period become all ruin'd and undone. A Change of Men will avail nothing, nor a superficial Change of Measures: You must go to the Bottom, and make Thorough Work of it; otherwise we must go on in the same sinking State and Condition as we have done for Twenty Years past, and be every Day drawing nearer and nearer to our fatal and final Period.

How Great Men and Courtiers may judge of our present Condition I won't pretend to determine: But this I may venture to say, that what I have mention'd is the united and concurrent Opinion of Eight Parts in Ten of all the People of *England*.

To this you'll very probably reply, that you have a very good Opinion of our Country Gentlemen, or Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers, and that they are plain honest well-meaning Men; but that in Government, and all State Affairs, there are Mysteries, secret Arts, and Contrivances, which these People know nothing of, or if they did it would appear infinitely beyond their Reach or Capacity.

This,

This, I must confess, is the common Language of Great Ministers, or Governors of Provinces or Kingdoms: But it's all false and delusive. In any Nation in *Europe* where are those secret Arts, Mysteries, or Refinements in their Government, which a Man of plain Common Sense can't clearly see and understand, you may depend upon it there is Roguery intended at the Bottom; that is, something really injurious and destructive to the Community.

But in *England* the Interest of our Country is so plain and obvious, that no honest sensible Man can ever mistake it. It wants no extraordinary Talents to see and feel our own Strength, to know our own real Good and Welfare, to view our internal State and Condition, and to see how and in what Manner we are respected or despised by all the other Powers of *Europe*.

By Sea, Sir, we are an Over-Match not only for *France*, but for all the Maritime Powers in *Europe*, and may there conquer the Grand Monarch, and make him submit to an equitable Peace: But on the Continent *France* ever has, and ever will, beggar us, and reduce us to the Necessity of imploring Peace on such Terms as they shall vouchsafe to grant. Every War carried on by *England* on the Continent naturally tends to her Ruin and Impoverishment. Besides, it is absolutely repugnant to all the general Rules and Maxims of Policy in any Nation upon Earth voluntarily and officiously to engage in War in the Defence of Foreign

reign States, when at the same Time they cannot support the Expence that is necessary to secure their own Dominions, their natural Rights, Liberties, and Commerce. The common Pretence has ever been, that we must support the House of *Austria*, and thereby humble and reduce *France*. But by all honest and sensible Men this has ever been esteemed no better than a mere popular Pretence, vain Words, empty and ridiculous Sounds, without any real Sense or Meaning. This, Sir, is the joint and concurrent Opinion of eight or nine Parts out of ten of all the good People of *England*: And if you had the Tongue or Pen of an Angel, you could not beat it out of their Heads. It comes upon their Minds with that irresistable and coercive Force, that they cannot withhold their Assent from it. It is equal to any mathematical Demonstration.

I won't pretend to be a Master of all the *German* Histories: It's a Work I have neither Leisure nor Inclination for. But this I may venture to say, that many of their most eminent Historians and Politicians agree in some fundamental Points. *First*, they all agree that there is a real and inherent Strength and Power in the *Germanic* Empire, when united, to drive all turbulent Invaders (whether *English* or *French*) fairly into the Sea, or even out of the World; that is, to reduce them at all Times within the Bounds of Reason, Justice, and Moderation. *Secondly*, they are also agreed that the Interposition of *France* or *England*, both or
either

either, into the Affairs of *Germany*, has in its own Nature a visible and apparent Tendency to break in upon and destroy the internal Peace and Tranquility of the whole Empire. Yea, they go further, and say if the People of *England* will take it into their Heads to grant vast and surprising Pensions or Subsidies to two or three *German* Princes, and hire their Troops at a monstrous high Rate (which is a very gainful Trade, and very common for the Princes of *Germany* to let out the Lives of their Subjects to Hire); this being done to two or three Princes only, it at once raises the Expectations of the others; and if they can't obtain those Advantages from *England* also, they instantly apply to the *French*, who will conclude themselves under a Necessity to follow our Example. And from this Source and Foundation alone has sprung many bloody, desperate, and destructive Wars, in which we have plung'd ourselves, and have been deeply engag'd, not in a Manner as Auxiliaries, but almost as Principals; and have borne a Share of the Expence infinitely beyond all the Rules of Reason, Justice, or Proportion.

In sending large pecuniary Aids out of the Kingdom, our Managers of the Publick Treasure should at all Times consider; that in *England* there are no Mines of Silver or Gold; and that we can acquire not the least Degree of additional Wealth but by Trade; and that by sending out our Circulating Cash by Thousands, or Hundreds of Thousands, or perhaps Millions,

ons, must greatly lessen and reduce all our Trade both foreign and domestick: For it is an agreed Point, that in all Kingdoms in the World Trade will bear a very near Proportion to the Quantity of the Circulating Cash of that particular Kingdom.

The Great Mr. *Locke* is certainly in the right when he says, that for any Kingdom to maintain a great and powerful Army, either their own or mercenary Forces, out of their own Dominions, and to be obliged to pay, in Money, annual and large Subsidies to Foreign Princes, is no more nor less than ruining a Kingdom by Wholesale.

In our Naval Preparations the Case is vastly different; it does not lessen or reduce our National Wealth. It's only a Rotation of Property from one Man to another. In fitting out a large Fleet, the Provision is a very considerable Part of the Expence, and which the Landed Interest receives again immediately in ready Cash. Besides, whatever Fortunes are made by our Officers and Sailors, all center in the Kingdom, and for the most Part revert back again into the Hands of the Many by a brisk and quick Circulation.

I have often-times wish'd our Representatives in Parliament would call for and examine the Accounts of what Money has been remitted to *Germany* under the Character of Subsidies, and what it has cost us in maintaining our own and the Mercenary Troops on the Continent, ever since the Revolution. Such an Inspection

would be of great Utility; it would open the Eyes of People, and let them fairly see how and by what Means they came into the present wretched and incumbered Condition.

Let this Sum be what it will, I must intreat you to reflect calmly, and consider what real and solid Advantages has this poor Nation ever receiv'd by it. Did it ever procure us any one good and substantial Ally, that was ready to aid and assist us in case of Need? It's now but little more than Twelve Months since that we had several great and powerful Armies on the Shore opposite to our own, and within Eight Hours sail of us; not a ragged Rabble of *Scottish Highlanders*, but old and veteran Troops, well furnish'd and equipp'd with every thing necessary for the intended Descent; an Army, Sir, commanded by Officers brave and bold, as well skill'd and experienc'd in the Military Art and Science as any in the World. What a dreadful Sight would it have been to have seen the Crown of *England* fought for on *English* Ground! The very Consideration of it makes me even to tremble.

Yet, Sir, under these dreadful and gloomy Apprehensions, had we any one single Ally that appear'd in our Behalf? We might indeed have turn'd our Eyes to the *Austrian* Family for whose Support and Security we have expended and lavish'd away (I believe I might say vainly and wantonly) Millions, Millions, and Millions; and by our Blood and Treasure alone have lately fix'd and settled the Imperial Diadem on the

the Head of the present reigning Branch. Yet so far was she from offering us any the least Aid, that at this important and critical Juncture she actually enter'd into a solemn Treaty and Alliance with our grand and inveterate Foe. To this you'll probably reply, she has turn'd out ungrateful. But what Satisfaction is this to *England*, after so many Millions of their Money being expended? And you may rest satisfied you'll always find your Continental Allies turn out in the same Manner. Yea, our most hearty and grateful Ally the *Dutch*, how did they act? They plainly told us they would neither meddle nor make in our Affairs, and that we must fight our own Battles ourselves, unaided and unassisted by them. And there was not a single Soul in all the United Provinces that offer'd to draw the Trigger of a single Musket in our Behalf at this most awful and critical Period. Dean *Swift* says, that it is a fundamental Maxim in the *Dutch* Policy never to fight for other People; and that, in the main, it is a right and good System: For he says, that for a private Man, a Body of Men, or a Nation of Men, to take it in their Heads to be always fighting for other People, is one of the most foolish, idle, and romantick Things in the World.

With regard to our real Connection with *Holland*, it has ever been a Matter of great Wonder and Surprize to me, that any Man in *England* in his right Senses could ever expect or imagine that the *Dutch* would give us any

Aid or Assistance, unless forced to it by very compulsive and coercive Methods. No, certainly; such a Conduct would be repugnant to the Interest of every single Soul in all the Seven Provinces. Their Neutrality is a thing of a most lucrative Nature; it promotes and increases their Navigation to a most astonishing Degree, and is a vast Addition to their National Wealth. I believe in my Conscience that if the *Dutch* were to offer to the *French* Ministry that they'd instantly declare War with *England*, and join the *French* with their whole Military and Naval Force, in order to hasten our Ruin and Destruction, they would not accept it; they must be Fools or Madmen if they did. It is infinitely more for the Interest of *France* to let them remain in their present Situation: For by Means of this *Dutch* Neutrality the *French* are infinite Gainers, as is well known to the Mercantile World, and ought also to be known and regarded by our Ministers of State: For the Interest of *France* is abundantly more promoted by it than if they were to act with them as Principals against us. For these neutral Carriers do actually extend the Trade and Commerce of *France* in Time of War more than she herself could do in Time of Peace. Though she may lose something in Point of Freight, it's merely a Trifle, and is made up again twenty-fold by the low Premiums of Insurance. What amazing Quantities of Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Indigo, Cotton, &c. &c. &c. from *Bordeaux*, *Nantz*, *Rochele*, and all their other

other Ports, are daily transported to *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and all the numerous Ports in the *Baltick* Sea, and for which they pay no more Insurance than the common Sea Risk, and nothing is allow'd for the Hazard or Danger of Captures. For every Insurer in *Holland*, *France*, *Hamburg*, and other Places, very well know that all *French* Property, when once loaded in *Dutch* Bottoms, becomes at once absolutely secure (Military Stores only excepted): And if any of our *English* Privateers are so weak and imprudent as to bring in any of those *Dutch* Ships, even though they are in the Coasting Trade only, and transporting *French* Goods from one Port to another, they are sure to be loaded with Costs and Damages, and be obliged to deliver up the Ship again; and our Court of Admiralty can't act otherwise as long as the present Marine Treaties between us and *Holland* are permitted to exist, and more especially those two of 1667 and 1674, on which the Claims and Privileges of the *Dutch* are chiefly founded.

Thus you see how, and in what easy and current Manner, not only the Fabricks and Produce of *France*, but all their rich and valuable Commodities brought from the *East* and *West Indies*, are permitted to be exported. It's very true the *Dutch* are vast Gainers by this Increase of their Navigation; yet they actually carry those *French* Goods at a very low Freight; which they can well afford to do, as no Nation in *Europe* navigates their Ships on more easy

Terms.

Terms. They have a vast deal in the Article of Victualling, and their best Sailors have not above 20 or 23 s. per Month Wages. How vastly different this from the poor *English* Merchant! He must pay 3 l. 10 s. or 4 l. per Month for a good Sailor, and be obliged to advance him a couple of Months Pay: His Ship and Cargo must pay from Ten to Twenty-five per Cent. Insurance, in Proportion to the Length of the Voyage. The Fabricks and Produce of *England* may support and bear up under this heavy Load and Incumbrance for some short Time, but it can't be long, it must terminate sooner or later in our utter Ruin & Destruction.

Besides this there is another vast Advantage the *French* have by Means of this *Dutch* Neutrality: A great Number of their large Mercantile Ships are to be converted into Private Ships of War. This and the last War the *French* Government bought a great Number of large Merchant Ships at *Marfeilles*, *Bourdeaux*, *Nantz*, and other Places, and immediately converted them into stout Frigates, and thereby made a great Addition to their Royal Navy; and many of their lesser Merchant Ships, for want of other Employment, are fitted out as Privateers.

Whoever will consider the Extent of the *French* Coast must be sensible that their Coast-ing Trade is of vast Importance. This is all carried on in *Dutch* Bottoms. And by this Means an infinite Number of *French* Sailors are under a Necessity to enter on board *French* Men

Men of War or Privateers; otherwise they must actually starve.

The *French* carrying on their Trade in so easy and secure a Manner, the Revenues of the Crown are well paid up, and kept in a tolerable good Condition; and they become abundantly more capable of annoying our Trade, and we less capable of hurting and destroying theirs. I knew an *English* Privateer lately that lay off *Nantz* ten Days, and twelve Days off *Bourdeaux*. In these twenty-two Days he flew no less than Seventy neutral Ships go in and come out of those two Ports, and brought to above Forty of them. All the Goods going Coastways were in *Dutch* Bottoms; only some few *Danes* and *Hamburgers* that were bound to *Holland*, *Hamburg*, and the *Baltick*; but of these Nine Parts out of Ten were *Dutch* also.

I could say a vast deal more to convince any reasonable Man of this amazing Advantage the *French* have by carrying on their Trade in *Dutch* Bottoms; and the infinite Prejudice we receive by it; but this would take up too much Time; and from what I have already advanced I will draw one general Conclusion, and do defy all the Men upon Earth to contradict it; viz. that the *French* Nation may as easily pretend to live without Food, or Air, as to support, and exist under, a War of Three Years with *England*; provided only that on the Part of *England* that said War be honestly and fairly conducted.

This I look upon as a fixed and immutable Truth. Any common Man that has a little Knowledge

Knowledge in the internal State and Condition of the *French* Nation, and the various Connections and Dependencies between one Part of their extensive Dominions and the other, is capable of demonstrating it with as much Clearness as any Proposition in *Euchid*, or as that 2 and 2 make 4.

I am so confident of the Truth and Certainty of this Proposition, that I would even venture my Life upon it, and would be content fairly and openly to be hang'd up at *Tyburn* at Twelve o'Clock at Noon-day, if the *French* did not with great Humility and Submission beg and implore a Peace before the End of the said third Year.

If I was to sit down to demonstrate the Truth of this Proposition to its utmost Extent, I must be under a Necessity greatly to exceed the intended Limits of this Epistle. Probably I may make this Point the Subject of a second Letter, if I ever find Leisure and Inclination for it. However, I shall now attempt to illustrate it, by just hinting a few Particulars.

First, The Way to humble and reduce *France* can never be by Continental Wars. The *French* Soldiery, their Officers, and Generals, may reasonably be suppos'd to be as well skill'd in the Military Art and Science as any in *Europe*; and consequently our Victory over them will be always very precarious and uncertain. But I will go further, and admit the Victory to be always on our Side, and that we should for many Years go on killing and chopping up

Thirty or Forty Thousand *Frenchmen* a Year; Would this tend to ruin and distress the *French* Nation? No, not all. Consider, the *French* King is an absolute and uncontrollable Monarch, holds in his Hand the Lives and Properties of Seventeen or Eighteen Millions of People in *Europe* only: And, admitting we should destroy Thirty or Forty Thousand of his Soldiers a Year, it would be hardly worth his Notice, as such Losses would be instantly repaired, and insensibly felt by the *French* Nation. But, besides gaining those great and mighty Victories over the *French* on the Continent, what would this poor Nation get by it? I must confess, it exceeds the utmost Reach and Limits of my Understanding ever to discover we could get a single Half-Crown by it: Yea, so far from getting by it, those Victories would oblige us to increase our Taxes, and to make large annual Additions to our National Debts, and thereby hasten our Ruin and Destruction. For I take it for granted (and I have some Authority for so saying) that the far greater Part of the Eighty Millions now hanging over our Heads has been contracted by our maintaining our own and Mercenary Troops on the Continent, adding thereto the great Sum we have paid as Subsidies since the Revolution to the *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Hessians*, *Hanoverians*, *Russians*, *Prussians*, *Hungarians*, and the Lord knows who. Now, Sir, what have we got by all this wild and extravagant System of Policy? So far from getting,

F

that

that we have brought ourselves into such a mean and pitiful Condition as not now to be capable of treating with any Court in *Europe* with the least Degree of Weight or Dignity; and, what is worse, have thereby lost that Honour, that Valour, and Reputation, for which our Ancestors were so justly renown'd, both in Time of Peace and War.

Had you, Sir, the Tongue or Pen of an Angel, you could never make the People of this Nation believe, that it's more for their Interest to squander away Four or Five Millions of their Money, in carrying on a Land War, all among Foreigners, in *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Saxony*, or elsewhere on the Continent, than it is to spend it at Sea, where it will soon center again amongst themselves. If it were possible for you to convene Ten Thousand of the most honest and sensible People from among all our different Parties, Ranks, Orders, and Degrees, you wou'd find Ninety-nine out of every Hundred concur and agree in one general Opinion, That all Attempts made to reduce the Power, Wealth, or Influence of *France*, by Continental Wars, are wild and ridiculous Chimeras. Besides, Sir, there is another Thing that has always stuck with me with regard to our frequent Interpositions in the Affairs of *Germany*. For my Part, I never could reconcile our Conduct therein with the Principles of common Honesty and Justice; to which all Men, and all collective Bodies, all Kingdoms and Nations, stand justly and equally entitled. And here,

Sir,

Sir, I beg your Attention, while I give you the calm and deliberate Sentiments of the Greatest Man in this World; or, if you won't allow him to be the very Greatest, you can't avoid placing him in the Rank of One of the Greatest, I mean the present King of *Prussia*. His being Heir Apparent to a powerful Kingdom adds nothing to his real Greatness of Mind. I shall strip him of all Royalty, and speak of him only as a private Gentleman. He is allow'd by all the Military Men in *Europe* to have studied the Art of War with more and greater Attention than any other Man besides, and to have made such Improvements in that Art and Science as were hitherto unknown, and which all Nations are fond to imitate. He is a Great and Eminent Lawyer, not only thoroughly versed in the Laws of his own Kingdoms, but perfectly acquainted with the Municipal Laws of all Nations in *Europe*. There is no Kingdom where Justice is administer'd in a Manner more incorruptible, or where the Private Rights and Properties of Men are determin'd in so easy and expeditious a Manner, quite and entirely freed from that eternal Plague, Vexation, Dilatoriness, and amazing Expence, which is most shamefully and wickedly permitted and allow'd in most other Nations in *Europe*. For this single Act alone Generations to come, in all his Dominions, will call him blessed.* He is a great

F 2

Politician,

* In the new Regulation of the *Prussian* Laws stands the following Clause: " Provided always, that when any Suit
" comes

Politician, an able and learned Divine, and has made a surprizing Proficiency in all the Arts and Sciences that have hitherto been known or discover'd in the World: He has quite exhausted, and gone to the Bottom of, all Parts and Branches of Polite Literature; and, what is more, he possesses a real Goodness of Soul, and a certain Greatness of Mind, superior to most other mortal Men. And I am really inclined to think that there are very few Men (and especially Great Men) that ever entertained a more sacred and inviolable Regard to the eternal and immutable Laws of Truth, Equity, and common Justice; for without this, his Character, or the Character of any Great Man, would be defective, and every way incomplete. I had no Intention to draw Characters; but 'twas impossible for me to mention the Name of this Extraordinary Man without saying something in his Favour.

Let us now see the calm and deliberate Sentiments of this Good and Great Man relating to our Interposition in the Affairs of *Germany*. This very King of *Prussia* publish'd a Writing dated at *Berlin*, *August 8. 1744*: It was sign'd by the King's own Hand, and a little lower down

" comes to be enter'd at any Court of Judicature, and
 " there appears to be any Widow or Widows, Orphan or
 " Orphans, in any manner interested in the same, such
 " Suit or Suits shall be directly heard and determined, and
 " shall be allow'd the Preference to all others in point of
 " Time." Here it may be justly said, that *Justice* and
Mercy are met together, and *Righteousness* and *Peace* have
 embraced each other.

down by his Two Secretaries of State, H. Count of *Podewils*, and C. W. *Borch*. It was entitled a Rescript, and address'd to the Court of *London*. It might as well have been stiled an Address to the People of *England*; for to them it seems chiefly intended. In the first Place he endeavours to prove that the Interposition of *England* in the Affairs of *Germany* is illegal, unwarrantable, and unjustifiable, to the last Degree. I will transcribe some of the latter Part of it in his own very Words: "I hope, however, that no judicious *Englishman*, nor any *Briton* that is zealous for his Country, can possibly mistake the Equity of my Resolutions, as he may sufficiently convince himself of it, by barely transporting on the Theatre of *England* what now passes on that of *Germany*: That as every true *English* Patriot would look with Indignation on such Intrigues as should be carried on in his own Country towards making the now Regnant Family to descend the Throne, in order to establish the Pretender there, and would oppose all such Practices with all his Power; much more there is no Patriot or powerful Prince of the Empire that can sit with Indifference, and coolly suffer another Member of the Empire, such as is the Queen of *Hungary*, to endeavour to spoil of his Dignity and Authority the Emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest with that Rank a Candidate destitute of the Qualifications that are most essential to fill the Imperial Throne,

" and

“ and who never can ascend it but by the total
 “ Subversion of the Imperial Constitution, and
 “ also of all the Liberties, Prerogatives, and
 “ Privileges of its chief Members. That, in
 “ Consequence of the same Principle, no *Ger-*
 “ *man* Prince had any Right to meddle with
 “ the inward Policy of *Great-Britain*, nor with
 “ the Constitution of its Government. I have
 “ some Reason to hope the *English* Nation will
 “ neither meddle with the domestick Affairs
 “ of the Empire, nor oppose the Efforts to
 “ which I, as well as the other Estates well-
 “ minded for the Empire, are resolved to
 “ make, towards preserving and maintaining
 “ the Dignity of the Head, the Reverence due
 “ to the Laws and Constitutions of our Coun-
 “ try, and the Rights and Prerogatives of its
 “ Members: And that I entertain these Hopes
 “ the more, because *England* has no Reason to
 “ meddle with this Quarrel from any Conside-
 “ ration of its Commerce. And I think it un-
 “ reasonable to pretend, that such powerful and
 “ respectable Princes as those of the Empire
 “ are, or should be, are obliged to rule their
 “ Conduct upon the Inclinations of those a-
 “ mong the *English* who strive to make their
 “ Countrymen enter into foreign Quarrels that
 “ are of no manner of Concern to *England*.”
 All the King of *Prussia*’s own Words.

Observe here, this was wrote a long Time
 after the Duke of *Bavaria* had been honestly,
 fairly, and unanimously elected by the Grand
 Diet of the whole Empire assembled, at which

no Person or Party appear'd in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, she having by Words, and a hundred Times by her Actions, declar'd she would pay no Regard to the *Golden Bull*, nor to any of the internal Laws or Constitutions of the Empire, and that the Point was now submitted to the Sword, and that alone should determine it.

Two Days after, His *Prussian* Majesty publish'd another and much larger Writing, dated at *Berlin* the 10th of *August*, 1744, entitled a Memorial, and address'd to all the Courts of *Europe*. I would transcribe both these Writings, but the Fear of rendering my Letter too tedious prevents me. However, of this Piece I will only transcribe a very little Part of it: " Since
 " the Success which the *Hungarian* Troops
 " have had in *Bavaria*, the Queen of *Hungary*;
 " far from proceeding with that Equity and
 " Moderation which became her, has treated
 " the Emperor's Dominions with inexpressible
 " Hardships and Cruelty. This Princess and
 " her Allies form'd Designs unmeasurably ambitious ; the pernicious End of which is to
 " put Fetters forever upon the *German* Liberty :
 " To effect which, for above an Age past,
 " has been the principal Object of the dangerous Policy of the House of *Austria*.

" One need only examine the Facts which
 " have pass'd these two last Years, in order to
 " judge of the Malignity of the Intentions of
 " the Court of *Vienna*, and to see clearly that
 " in all her Proceedings she has acted in a
 Manner

“ Manner entirely contrary to the Laws and
 “ Constitutions of the Empire.

“ These Attempts are inconsistent with the
 “ Honour and Dignity of every Prince of Ger-
 “ many, or Elector, to tolerate any longer;
 “ and it would be a shocking Baseness in the
 “ sacred Members of the August College, in-
 “ vested from Time immemorial with the
 “ Authority of electing their own Heads, to
 “ suffer the Despotism and the Violence with
 “ which the Queen of *Hungary* would force
 “ this Right from them, in so ignominiously
 “ oppressing His Imperial Majesty.” All His
Prussian Majesty's own Words. The rest is
 much of the same Kind; only in some Places
 he lashes, and severely reproaches, the People
 of *England* for granting such amazing Aid and
 Assistance to this very Woman, when they ve-
 ry well knew her only Aim and Design was to
 set up and establish a despotick Rule and Go-
 vernment, and at once to demolish, pull down,
 and destroy, their *Magna Charta*, and all the
 fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the
 Empire. In the last Clause of this long Me-
 morial His *Prussian* Majesty says, “ That he
 “ himself, in Conjunction with the other Prin-
 “ ces of the Empire, had solicited the Media-
 “ tion of the Republick of *Holland*; but they,
 “ being sensible of the Stiffness of the Courts
 “ of *London* and *Vienna*, declin'd it in a pretty
 “ categorical Manner.

In *Germany* they have a *Magna Charta* as well
 as we in *England*, and it has a near Affinity to
 ours.

ours. The Name they give it is that of the *Golden Bull*, in which is declar'd and secur'd, the certain Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, claim'd by all the Princes and Electors of *Germany*.

The Emperor *Charles VI.* died the 20th of *October*, 1740. The first Thing that engaged the Attention of the Empire was the Conduct of His *Prussian* Majesty, by marching a large Body of Troops into *Silesia*: But at the same Time he wrote a very friendly and complaisant Letter to the Empress-Queen, and another to the Duke of *Lorrain*; wherein he endeavours to prove the Equity and Justice of his Claim to a Part of *Silesia*; and at the same Time begs and intreats, that his Claim may be accommodated in a private and amicable Manner, protesting with great Solemnity that he would submit to any thing that might be deem'd equitable and just, in order to prevent the Effusion of Blood. The Queen of *Hungary* returned an immediate Answer, in a most haughty and insolent Stile; declaring she would not submit to any private Accommodation, nor suffer any the least Part of her Dominions to be dismember'd. Whereupon His *Prussian* Majesty, despairing of ever obtaining Justice by any other Means than the Sword, instantly printed his own Letter to the Empress-Queen, with her Answer, and address'd it to all the Courts in *Germany*, to convince them with what Equity and Moderation he had proceeded; and immediately set out for *Silesia*, & headed his Troops in Person,

Soon after this a Plot was discovered in *Silesia*, to attempt the Life of His *Prussian* Majesty ; on which that Monrach publish'd a fresh Memorial. I shall only transcribe the last Part of it, and in his own Words : “ That notwithstanding the Moderation he has all along shewn “ towards the Court of *Vienna*, yet that Court “ had been far from behaving so to him, and “ has had Recourse to the detestable Expedi- “ ent of employing Emissaries, Spies, and “ Banditti to beset him, and even attempt his “ Life. That one of those Banditti confess'd, “ that he was obliged to take an Oath for that “ Purpose in the Aulic Council of War, and “ in the Presence of the Duke of *Lorraine*, “ whom His *Prussian* Majesty never thought “ capable of such Indignities.” *Germany* was a good deal alarm'd at this Memorial ; and it only served to encrease that general Dislike and Detestation they had before entertained of this famous Woman. It's not surprizing wth what Friendship and Cordiality His *Prussian* Majesty was received by the Inhabitants of *Silesia* ; and after a few Battles, he made an absolute and compleat Conquest, both of *Upper* and *Lower Silesia*. Whereupon some Overtures of an Accommodation were made him from the Court of *Vienna*. But in what Manner were they received ? His *Prussian* Majesty declared openly, that he had so little Confidence in the Honour, Equity, or Veracity, of the Empreſs-Queen, that he would enter into no Treaty or Engagement with her on any Account, unless

less she could prevail with her potent Ally, His *Britannick* Majesty, to become Security for the whole and every Part of whatever Treaty should be made between them, and not only as Elector of *Hanover*, but also as King of *Britain*. Upon this Demand of His *Prussian* Majesty this Treaty was a long Time postpon'd. However, at last it was executed at *Breslau*, the Capital of *Silesia*, on the 1st of *June*, 1742. the Earl of *Hindford* being then present, who sign'd it in the Manner His *Prussian* Majesty had requir'd.

By this Treaty the Empress Queen yields and cedes to the King of *Prussia* both *Upper* and *Lower Silesia*, except the Principality of *Jeschén* and *Troppau*, in lieu of which he was to have the Principality of *Glatz* in *Bohemia*.

The King of *Prussia*, on his Side, obliged himself to pay the whole entire Sum due to the *English* Merchants, both Principal and Interest, on account of a Mortgage made by the late Emperor on *Silesia*, bearing Date *January* 10, 1734.

In the 8th Article of this Treaty, there stands the following Words: " That every thing relating to the Trade and Commerce of *Silesia*, and the Dominions of the Empress-Queen, should be and remain on the same Footing on which it was in the Year 1739, before the Death of the late Emperor, or before the Beginning of the then War."

But what did this wicked Woman do? Soon after the *German* War was entirely over, and the Empire restor'd to a State of Peace and

Tranquility, she publishes a Writing, call'd at *Vienna* an Ordinance or Decree, directed to all her Farmers and Collectors of her Revenue, in all Parts of her Dominions, importing, That all the Fabrieks and Manufactures of *Silesia*, brought in there, should be subject to a Duty of *Thitty per Cent.* This nettled the King of *Prussia* most confoundedly, as it broke in upon one main Part of his Grand System. What the People of *Germany* call the *Prussian Grand System* is divided into 3 Parts. *First*, by every possible Method to increase the Number of his Inhabitants: *Secondly*, To encourage and promote the further Improvement and Cultivation of his Land: *Thirdly*, To protect, and to render by every possible Means all his Fabrieks and Manufactures more and more considerable and extensive. And in these Points no Prince upon Earth has taken more Pains, or has been more successful, than His *Prussian Majesty*.

Immediately upon the Publication of this Decree His *Prussian Majesty* dispatch'd one of his Commissaries of Trade and Commerce to *Vienna*, who loudly complained of this unfriendly, dishonourable, and oppressive Measure, contrary to the Faith of the Treaty; and strongly insisted upon it, that this Decree should be instantly recall'd and revok'd. This Gentleman soon return'd to *Berlin*, affirming he could obtain no other Answer from the Empress-Queen, or her Ministers, but that this Decree should stand, and on no Account be recall'd or revok'd. Whereupon His *Prussian Majesty* sent

two other of his Commissaries of Trade and Commerce to *Vienna*, one after the other, who made the most pressing Solicitations: But they both return'd with the same Answer, that the Decree should stand, and not be revok'd.

As soon as ever this Lady had concluded her late Alliance with the Court of *France* the last Year, she published a second Decree, that all the Fabricks and Manufactures of *Silesia*, brought into any Part of her Dominions, should be subject to an additional Duty of Thirty *per Cent.* more, in all Sixty *per Cent.*; and all the Collectors of her Revenues were directed, under very severe Penalties, to exact this Duty with the utmost Rigour.

His *Prussian* Majesty complain'd of this Injustice to many others of the *German* Princes; and receiv'd for Answer, That they were not at all surprized at the Conduct of the Empress-Queen, for that she had ever been endeavouring to establish a despotic Power in the Empire, to abolish the Protestant Religion, as well as the Laws, the Government, and the particular Immunities which that Republick of Princes and Sovereigns had ever legally enjoy'd.

Yea, what is more than all, at the very Instant of Time that the poor People of *England* were running mad about this Woman, and were lavishing away their Money by Millions, and sacrificing the Lives of their Soldiers: I say, at this very Instant of Time she laid some new and extraordinary Duties on the Fabricks and

and Manufactures of *England* in some Part of her Dominions.

I very well remember at this Time a Friend of mine being in *London*, and conversing with a Gentleman of considerable Rank, who had a large Share in the then Administration, he told him this Story of the Queen of *Hungary's* having laid a new and extraordinary additional Duty upon the Fabricks and Manufactures of *England* in some Part of her Dominions; and desir'd this Gentleman to get one of the Secretaries of State to write a Letter to our Resident at *Vienna*, who doubtless would get this new Duty remov'd in Five Minutes Time, as it certainly was laid on by Mistake or inadvertently, and could not be suppos'd otherwise. To which this Great Man reply'd: *For God's sake don't plague us about Fabricks or Manufactures; we have not Time to think of them; we are almost at our Wits End. Our Majority in a certain Place (which he mention'd) grows weaker and weaker every Day; and if we lose one single Point we are all undone at once.* My Friend was a pretty free-spoken Man, and reply'd, *I really think, Sir, it would be more for the Interest of this Nation that you should all give up voluntarily, than support your Party by such very extraordinary Methods as you are now forced to do: And in case Things continue on the same Footing Twenty Years longer, I fear we shall be all undone, and the Kingdom into the Bargain.* The Great Man did not take this Freedom at all amiss; only reply'd, with great Seriousness, *I*

am an Old Man, and can't live very many Years more ; so I hope Things will be kept together during my Life. And so the Conversation ended on this Point.

I am very sensible that I shall here be told, that *England* had sign'd the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and thereby was obliged to grant the *Empress-Queen* those amazing Aids and Assistances. And here I must confess, that I was greatly surprized to find that on the Death of the late Emperor *Charles VI.*, Father to the present Queen of *Hungary*; the Lawyers and Politicians of *Germany* treated this *Pragmatick Sanction* as an idle and ridiculous Thing, alledging, that in 1703 a solemn *Pragmatick Sanction* had been made by the Father of *Joseph* and *Charles*, in favour of the Daughters of *Joseph*; and that this *Pragmatick Sanction* had never been in the least regarded or observed. But all the *Germans* agreed, that this *Pragmatic Sanction* of the Queen of *Hungary's* was absolutely a mere Nullity, as far as it related to *England* or *France* (for the *French* also had sign'd it as well as we); and that the People of *England* or *France* could not intermeddle in any Manner or Shape with the Election of their Emperor; without subverting and destroying all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the whole Empire, and that neither *France* nor *England* ought to have sign'd the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and that, notwithstanding they had done it, it ought in Equity and common Justice to be deem'd of no Weight or Influence;

fluence; and that if ever the *English* or *French*, under this Pretence, should claim a Right to dispose of the Imperial Diadem of *Germany*, such a Claim would be esteem'd by all Nations in *Europe* as unwarrantable and illegal; and contrary to the Municipal Laws of Nations; affirming they had a *Magna Charta* (that is, their *Golden Bull*) and certain fundamental Laws and Constitutions, agreeable to which their Emperor must and ought to be elected. Yea, they went farther, and attempted to prove that the Princes of *Germany* may, with equal Justice, claim a Right to dispose of the Crown and Dignity of *England* or *France*, as they could have to dispose of the Imperial Crown of *Germany*.— If my Information is right, the *German* Princes, in their then Situation, made a pressing Application to Cardinal de *Fleury*, desiring he would pay no Regard to the Pragmatic Sanction; and that the Emperor ought to be chosen by the Grand Diet of the Princes and Electors, properly assembled; for that otherwise their Constitution would be entirely subverted, and their natural Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, to which they stood legally entitled, for ever lost. This, I apprehend, met the desired Effect with the Cardinal, who declar'd, that he look'd on the Pragmatic Sanction in the same Light as they did, and that no Attempts should be made by the Court of *France* to subvert their Laws or Constitutions. Nothing now remain'd for the *Germans* to do but to get the *English* to act the same Part.

But

But they presently found all Attempts of this Kind impossible, and were quite stunn'd and knock'd down at all the publick and private Accounts they daily receiv'd from *England*; and these Accounts were much exaggerated by the Queen of *Hungary's* Residents at the different Courts of *Germany*. They pretended that in *England* there was amazing Sums of redundant Cash, which was to be transmitted to the Queen of *Hungary* by Millions, to enable her to put Arms into the Hands of all her Subjects in her Hereditary Dominions, which are of a prodigious Extent; and also that a great Part of the *English* Army were transporting to *Germany*, who would most cheafly sacrifice their Lives to secure the Election of the Queen of *Hungary*. Yea, they went farther, and affirmed that if the Public Treasure of the Kingdom was insufficient, that Numbers of private Gentlemen (especially of the *Whigs*, who were then the only regnant Party) would even sell their paternal Estates, and remit the Money to the Empress-Queen.

The poor Princes, Electors, and People, were amaz'd and astonish'd at this Conduct of the *English*; it appear'd to them impenetrable, unfathomable, and past finding out. It must be observ'd here that the *Germans* at that Time were quite unacquainted with the internal Policy of *England*. Had they applied to the Politicians of *Amsterdam*, they would have told them presently how and by what means this Spirit and Disposition had been conjured up,
H. and

and what Ends and Purposes it was intended to answer.

In this Situation what could the poor *Germans* do? They made a second and a very pressing Application to the Cardinal *de Fleury*. For my Part, I know of no other Man upon Earth they could apply to. This Cardinal had a very high Opinion of Marshal *Belleisle*. It's true he was not then a Marshal, only Count *Belleisle*; but the Cardinal soon got him made and declar'd a Marshal of *France*. The Cardinal closetted him daily. The important Points were soon agreed on; and a Plan of the Operations was publish'd and handed about in *Germany*, viz. Thirty Thousand Foot and Twenty Thousand Horse were to be incorporated in one Grand Army, and were absolutely to pass the *Rhine* by the Month of *June*, and march towards the *Danube*; another mighty Army was to enter *Germany*, and to act in Conjunction with the *Prussian*, *Saxon*, and *Bavarian* Forces; and another separate and distinct Army of Forty Thousand Men, Commanded by *Belleisle* himself was to proceed to *Hanover* directly, and lay waste those Dominions, unless prevented by an absolute and fix'd Neutrality by His *Britannick* Majesty, who (if I am not mistaken) was then at *Hanover*. And here it's worth Notice, that the *French* marched no Troops into *Germany* till Six or Seven Months after the Death of the Emperor: And by all the Papers and Information I could ever come at, it appears very plain that the *French* never intended

intended to meddle nor make in this Squabble in *Germany*, if the violent and extraordinary Interposition of *England* had not made such a Proceeding necessary.

The Entrance of those three great Armies raised the Spirits of all the *Germans*. The Reasons *Marthal Belleisle* gave at his Entrance into *Germany*, and the Reasons also assigned by the *German* Princes and Electors for soliciting those mighty Aids from *France*, may be all reduced to three short distinct Heads. *First*, To force and compel the *English* to enter into a fix'd and absolute Neutrality, and to permit the Grand Diet to assemble quietly and peaceably. *Secondly*, That the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Empire should be preserved and maintained, together with all the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of all the respective Princes and Electors. *Thirdly*, To prevent the Queen of *Hungary* from establishing an absolute and despotick Rule and Government in the Empire. These were the Reasons publicly assigned. And if we admit them to be true, they appear to me to be laudable and just. It's very probable it may be quite inconsistent with the Cardinal's general System of Policy to permit the Queen of *Hungary* to establish an absolute Government.

Nothing now was to be seen or heard but Fire and Sword, Violence and Cruelty, Murder and Bloodshed, in all Parts and Corners of *Germany*. However, at last with great Danger and Difficulty the Grand Diet met; and

they seem'd to me to have proceeded with great Moderation and Equity. They treated the Pragmatic Sanction in the Manner I have already described, and came to a Resolution, that neither the People of *England* nor *France*, nor of any other Nation whatever, had or ought to have any thing to do with the Election of their Emperor. Then they came to another Resolution, that the only Claimants to the Imperial Crown were *Maria Teresa*, the Eldest Daughter to the late Emperor *Charles VI.*, and *Charles Albert*, Elector of *Bavaria*, and that they would now proceed to an Election; and that such Election should be made agreeable to the Golden Bull, and to all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Empire. And here the Duke of *Bavaria* put in his Claim with great Modesty and Humility, and declared that their Determination should be final and conclusive. He demanded the Succession to the Imperial Crown in Virtue of the Will of the Emperor *Ferdinand I.* Brother to *Charles V.* By this Will *Ferdinand* had, in Default of Male Issue, instituted his Eldest Daughter the Arch-Duchess *Anne* Heiress of his Dominions. This Princess was married to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and from her the then Elector *Charles* was descended: For here take Notice, there were no Males left of the House of *Austria*. The Friends to the Duke of *Bavaria* pleaded very strongly the Rights of Blood, testamentary Dispositions, Family Compacts, the Laws of *Germany*, and the Laws of Nations; and on the

[62]

the 14th of January, 1742, he was declared
 duly elected, and obtained the Imperial Dia-
 dem. His Prussian Majesty declares he was
 elected unanimously; But I have seen that
 contradicted. But if there was any Body who
 mentioned the Queen of Hungary, it was in a
 slight and oblique Manner. But, prior to this Election, the Duke of Ba-
 varia had made a complete Conquest of the
 Kingdom of Bohemia, and was actually crown-
 ed King of Bohemia at Prague with the usual
 Solemnities. However, notwithstanding this
 apparent Success, he at this Time wrote to the
 Queen of Hungary, and offer'd to restore and
 give up the Kingdom of Bohemia, and to sub-
 mit to any Terms whatever, on Condition she
 would consent to restore Peace to the Empire;
 and prevent further Effusion of Blood; But
 he might as well have wrote to *Koch Kanis*.
 About this Time the Germans began to be
 tired with the War, and their Reluctance to
 the People of England ran very high, from a
 general prevailing Opinion that the extraordi-
 nary Obstinacy and Stiffness of the Queen of
 Hungary was in a great measure owing to the
 Influence of England. And His Prussian Maje-
 sty appears to be in the same Sentiments, for in
 his long Memorial of the 10th of August, 1744,
 stands the following Words. After having said
 a good deal relating to the Mildness and Mo-
 deration of the Emperor, and his Desire to
 prevent any further Effusion of Blood, he con-
 cludes: "The Emperor to declar'd at the
 same

"same Time, that for the Sake of Peace he
 "would for ever renounce all Pretensions
 "which he had upon the House of *Austria*,
 "upon Condition of the Restitution of his
 "own hereditary Dominions. These advan-
 "tageous and most moderate Terms were flat-
 "ly rejected by the *English* Ministry; an evi-
 "dent Proof that the Intention of *England*
 "was not to restore Peace to the Empire, but
 "rather to make its Advantages of their Trou-
 "bles."

In another Writing his *Prussian* Majesty says,
 "The People of *England* would not be con-
 "tent with barely setting up a Candidate; no-
 "thing would satisfy them but pulling down
 "and demolishing an Emperor and a King af-
 "ter he had been honestly and fairly elected."
 And the better to reconcile the Minds of the
 People in *England* to the pulling down and de-
 molishing this Emperor and this King, it be-
 came necessary for the Leaders of our *Whig*
 Party to give out, that no Regard at all was to
 be paid to what the Diet of the Empire had
 done, for that they were all under the Influ-
 ence of *France* and *French* Gold; and affected
 to speak of them in as diminutive a Manner as
 they could have done of the meanest and most
 venal Aldermen in the least and most pitiful
 Borough in *Cornwall*.

But every sensible Man that knows any thing
 of the World, must likewise know that the
 Grand Diet of the Empire is compos'd of
 Great Princes and Sovereigns, Secular and Ec-
 clestiaſtical;

clesiastical; and when united, with an honest Emperor at their Head, is undoubtedly the most august, venerable, and respectable Assembly of Men upon the Face of the Earth, superior to all others in Power and Dignity, in Wealth and Dominion. *French* Gold nor *French* Influence could be of no Avail here. It was impossible in the Nature of Things; for whether we take the Diet as a Collective Body, or separate and distinct from each other, they were open declared Enemies to the Queen of *Hungary*, and had been so from first to last; they hated and detested her to the highest Degree, and, on the contrary, had a great Esteem and Veneration for the opposite Candidate, the Duke of *Bavaria*: For, prior to the Election, it was resolved and agreed in the Diet, (and I think unanimously) that the internal Peace and Tranquility of the Empire, and all their Fundamental Laws and Constitutions, would be infinitely more safe and secure in the Hands of the Duke of *Bavaria* than in those of the Queen of *Hungary*. The Duke of *Bavaria* was generally esteem'd as a Prince of a most amiable and worthy Character, of great Temper and Moderation, of which, during the War, he gave most evident and convincing Proofs; but, to use His *Prussian* Majesty's own Words, "He met with very hard and most cruel Treatment."

The whole Truth is this: The People in *Germany*, at this Period of Time, were exactly in the same Situation in all Respects as the People

People in *England* were prior to the Revolution; and let us see how they acted. And here we find the Whigs and Tories, and all Parties, agreed that they would lay aside all their non-sensical and ridiculous Divisions and Squabbles, and would enter into one general Resolution, That they would pull down and demolish the then regnant Family. This Resolution they soon effected at a trifling Expence, and without any Violence or Bloodshed. The then regnant Prince was forced to abdicate the Crown, and his whole Family to desert the Kingdom. But this did not satisfy the People of *England*. No, certainly: They went to making of Laws, and enacted, That if this King *James II.* or a single Soul of his Family, should ever attempt to return here, they should be deem'd guilty of High Treason, and also made it highly criminal for any one to carry on the least Correspondence with them. They never allow'd them a single Shilling for their future Subsistence, but turn'd them loose into the World as itinerant Beggars and Vagabonds.

The *British* Nation had but one single Reason to assign for this extraordinary Conduct; and that may be compriz'd in two or three Lines, viz. that this *James II.* and all his Predecessors, for more than Fifty Years, had been endeavouring by all possible Means to subvert, to demolish, and pull down, all the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of this Realm, and to establish in their Stead an absolute and despotic Rule and Government.

Now

Now the Case in *Germany* was exactly the same. The *Germans* all tell us that the *Austrian* Family, for a Century and a half, and more, have constantly and invariably been endeavouring to put down and demolish all their fundamental Laws and Constitutions, and to deprive them of those Privileges and Immunities which they had held and maintain'd Time immemorial. Yea, they go farther, and tell us, that formerly the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* were elective, and the People were invested with many sacred Rights and Liberties. But this tyrannical *Austrian* Family went on, Step after Step, till they had quite subverted all their Laws and Constitutions, and reduced them to a State of the meanest and most abject Slavery. There being now no Male Issue left, the *Germans* thought this a favourable Conjunction to rid their Hands of them, which they pretend they should most effectually have done; had it not been for the unhappy Interposition of *England*.

The King of *Prussia*, in one of his Writings, speaking of the Queen of *Hungary*, says she descended from a Race of Tyrants; and he might have said, with equal Truth and Justice, from a Race of cruel and bloody Persecutors.

The *Germans* never intended to banish the Queen of *Hungary* the Empire, or to deprive her of her hereditary Dominions; they only wanted to deprive her of her Imperial Diadem. And had that been done, she would have remain'd a respectable Princess of the Empire,

her own Dominions being so very considerable and extensive.

At this Time it was a prevailing Notion in *Germany*, among all Ranks and Degrees of People, that the Diet of the Empire had as much Right and Claim to interpose in the Disposition of the Crown of *England*, as a *British* Parliament had to that of the Crown of *Germany*.

I have often reflected in my own Mind, that, after this King *James* and his Family had deserted the Kingdoms, and after the many Laws that were made to prevent their Return, (I will suppose that) a Grand Ambassador had arriv'd from the Imperial Diet, and demanded an Audience of the *British* Parliament, and had told them, that notwithstanding they had expelled the late King *James* with all his Family, Root and Branch, yet he was directed by the *German* Diet to inform them, that they had made a Pragmatic Sanction with this runaway King, wherein they had guarantied the Crown and Dignity of *England* to his Son; and that if they would not instantly confirm this Pragmatic Sanction, they would send over Ten Millions of *German* Crowns, and a Hundred Thousand Men, and thereby introduce Murder and Bloodshed, Fire and Sword, into every Corner of the Land.

Oh bless me! — With what Horror and Indignation would the then *British* Parliament have received this Message! I am inclined to think they would even have been induced to have

have violated the Laws of Nations, and instantly to have ordered this Ambassador to have been hung up at *Tyburn*. For at that Time *Englishmen* were *Englishmen*.

I would not be understood as if I intended any Reflection on the People of *England* for their Conduct at the Revolution: No, certainly, very far from it. The whole and every Part of their Management, at this solemn and awful Period, was quite agreeable, and perfectly consistent with all the Laws of Heaven and Earth. The Public Good, the Public Safety, which is superior to all Laws, made such a Procedure absolutely and indispensibly necessary.

I am now tired with the last *German* War, and will say no more about it.— I could mention many other Interpositions of *England* on the Continent since the Revolution, that you would be hard put to it to reconcile to the Principles of common Honesty and Justice. I do not mean with Justice to ourselves; but with Justice to those Princes on the Continent whose Laws we have invaded, and carried into their Dominions Devastation and War. I take it to be a Point absolutely agreed and determined by all the Civilians in *Europe*, that no People or Nation upon Earth have a Right, nor ought ever, to attempt to enter into the Dominions of any other Prince in a hostile Manner, without being able to reconcile such a Conduct to the Principles of natural Equity and Justice. Yea, they go farther, and say it ought not to be done upon Proofs, Pretences, or Reasons, of

a doubtful or dubious Nature. The Reasons assign'd must be obvious, plain, and satisfactory to all the World. Vide *Grotius* and *Puffendorff* in fifty Places.

Sometimes our People have been sent over on the Continent a fighting, under a mere whimsical Pretence of maintaining the Balance of Power in *Germany*. But should this Fighting Trade ever bring us Twenty Millions more in Debt, it would be of little Consequence to us who had the Balance of Power in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*. At other Times we have been told with great Seriousness and Solemnity, that we must set up a Fighting for the good Old Protestant Cause, and for the greater Spread and Propagation of the Protestant Interest on the Continent. But this, Sir, is really a Doctrine the most wicked and detestable, and should never be infus'd into the Minds of the People.

The *Spanish* Historians tell us that soon after the Discovery of the New World in *America* they sent out very great Armaments. The general Pretence was, that they were only intended to propagate the Christian Religion amongst the *Indians*. But this was a wicked Farce, a horrid Delusion and Imposition upon the People in *Spain*: For other of their Historians tell us, that the then *Spanish* Ministry had receiv'd a very circumstantial and particular Account of the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and also of that inexhaustible Fund of Silver in the famous Mines of *Potosi*. It is this that was the
only

only Motive and real Inducement to those Expeditions; that of Religion was intended as a mere Pretence, to delude the People, and make them the more easily provide those vast Sums of Money these mighty Armaments required. And they went on this Way of propagating the Gospel till they actually kill'd and murder'd 14 or 15000000 of sober, honest, and innocent People. I will grant that this is a Doctrine openly profess'd and practis'd by Mahometans and Papists: But forbid it, O Heaven! Oh Heaven forbid it! that ever the Protestant Religion should receive any the least additional Spread in any Part or Corner of the habitable World by such impious and hellish Methods as that of Fire and Sword, Murder and Bloodshed.— When any Nation now-a-days will engage in a War to propagate their Religion, depend upon it 'tis only a mere ridiculous Pretence, there is something else at the Bottom.

In the last *German War* the *French* took up the Protestant Cause, and openly enter'd into a firm Alliance with His *Prussian Majesty*, tho' they knew he was the grand Support and Defender of the Protestants in *Germany*. Had it not been for the Three Great *French Armies* the King of *Prussia* could never have made so easy a Conquest of *Silesia*. And at the General Treaty in 1748, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the *French* readily and chearfully guarantied to the King of *Prussia* *Upper* and *Lower Silesia*, and the Principality of *Glatz* in *Bohemia*; though they
very

very well knew that every Accession of Power, or Extent of Territory, to His *Prussian* Majesty, would greatly promote and increase the Protestant Religion.

It now became the Turn of *England* to declare openly on the Side of Popery. We all knew that this famous Queen was not only a Papist, but a most violent and bigotted one, and that she descended from a Race of cruel and bloody Persecutors, and that she herself was actually employ'd in persecuting her Protestant Subjects in *Hungary* at the Time we first declared for her; we also very well knew that every Accession of Power, or Extent of Territory, would greatly add and promote the Popish Religion, and consequently weaken and reduce that of the Protestant. I only mention this single Instance to convince you, that any Attempts to spread Religion by fighting is a Farce, and a ridiculous Pretence.

The *Germans* all tell us, that when *England* will interfere in their Affairs, it is of little Consequence whether they declare on the Side of Popery, or for the Protestant Cause. Let them take what Part they please, the *French* will throw all their Weight and Influence into the opposite Scale. This they ever have done, and will ever continue to do, of which we had a convincing Proof in the last *German* War. All *Europe* saw *England* declare openly on the Side of Popery, and endeavoured by all possible Means to render it more considerable and extensive: And, on the contrary, it became the

Turn

Turn of *France* to declare as openly for the Protestant Cause.

I can't quit the Subject of Continental Wars without taking Notice of the present *German* War. And here we again see this famous Woman the Aggressor, in open Defiance of the most solemn Treaties and Engagements drawing her Sword, and again involving her Country in all the Calamities of War, the only Source and Foundation of which is about this confounded Province of *Silesia*. Before the late Entrance of His *Prussian* Majesty into *Saxony* he gave the Empress-Queen the most solemn and repeated Assurances that he would instantly lay aside all hostile Preparations, on Condition she would only promise not to attack his Dominions during that or the ensuing Year. But even this Satisfaction she again and again refused, and consequently must be deemed the Aggressor. This Province of *Silesia* she had most solemnly ceded and given up to His *Prussian* Majesty at three different Times, as has been already mentioned; First, by the Treaty of *Breslau*; afterwards at *Dresden*; and again at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in October 1748. The first Violation of those Treaties was in the Queen of *Hungary's* laying a Duty of 30 per Cent. on all the Manufactures and Fabricks of *Silesia*. And the Reasons she assigned for this most notorious Breach of these Treaties were, that His *Prussian* Majesty had made a most amazing Addition to the Fabricks of *Silesia*, and thereby drew vast Sums of Money out of her Dominions into his

own;

own; which she was determined to prevent. The Inhabitants of *Silesia* have been always deem'd a People of great Ingenuity & Industry; having their Heads and Hands naturally turn'd and adapted to Manufactures both of Woollens and Linnens: And His *Prussian* Majesty has not only increased their Manufactures, but also the Number of their Inhabitants to a most surprising Degree.

But now, Sir, pray tell me of what Consequence it is to the People of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, how or in what Manner the Fate of this Place is determined? If we were to act from a Principle of Interest, and that only, it would certainly be more for our Interest to have it in the Queen of *Hungary's* Hands than in His *Prussian* Majesty's. Should it ever revert to the Queen of *Hungary*, as soon as she gets out of the present War she would begin a Persecution there (as by all Accounts there is a vast Number of Protestants settled there since the Year 1742, when it first came into the King of *Prussia's* Hands); and by this Persecution the People would naturally remove and desert the Country, and by those Means their Fabricks would gradually decline: Whereas if it remains in His *Prussian* Majesty's Hands, he will forever go on increasing their Inhabitants, their Manufactures, and Fabricks, not only in *Silesia*, but in every Corner of his Dominions. The Woollen Fabricks have in a peculiar Manner engaged the Attention of His *Prussian* Majesty for a great Number of Years; and the

more

more these *Fabricks* increase in *Germany*, the more they must lessen and decrease in *England*. And consequently it is for the real Interest of this Nation that His *Prussian* Majesty should not receive any additional Territory. I am confident the *French* King, nor any of his Ministers, have a greater Aversion to the Manufactures of *England* than the King of *Prussia* has. I do not mention this as any Reflection. Far from it. It is owing to the Superiority of his Understanding. And if you or I could be made Kings of *Prussia*, and should happen to turn out honest Men, and love our Country, we should pursue exactly the same System.

I could easily mention to you a hundred single Points of infinitely more Consequence to us than any thing that now passes in *Germany*. *First*, The Reduction of our Grand National Debt. *Secondly*, The making a thorough Change and Alteration in our Army and Navy; and totally to abolish and annihilate those Methods of disposing and bestowing the Preferments which has been permitted and allowed in our Army and Navy for these Twenty Years past. And unless this is done, you'll get nobody to fight your Battles for you, either by Sea or Land. And when this is done you'll be no more plagued with Court-Martials, which renders this Nation contemptible in all the Courts of *Europe*. *Thirdly*, The giving our Trade and Navigation much greater Protection and Security than has been done either in this or the last War. *Fourthly*, To endea-

vour really and in good Earnest (not slightly and superficially) to preserve and secure our *American* Colonies by all possible Means and Methods that can be devised. This is one main Source & Foundation from whence the Wealth, the Power, and Dignity, of this Nation must arise.

I could easily mention Ninety-six Points more to make up the Hundred: But let me beg you to think calmly on these four, and only for ten Minutes; and then this mighty Affair of *Silesia* (as far as it relates to *England*) will in your Imagination dwindle into nothing, and appear as a low, mean, paltry Thing, not worthy your Notice or Observation.

I am confident I shall never more put Pen to Paper about Continental Affairs, and therefore will now finish it, or at least offer every thing that at present occurs to me on this Subject. I am sensible there are two grand Objections to be made to every thing I have hitherto advanced on this Subject. Those Objections I will now fairly state, and leave it to your Consideration if I fully refute them or not. The first Objection is, That we are bound by the strongest Ties of Duty and Gratitude to one of the best and most honest Princes in the World, to secure and preserve his *German* Dominions, cost what it will. Secondly, That if we don't continue fighting in *Germany*, either on one Side or other, they won't trade with us: And as we are a Trading Nation, and must subsist by Trade only, this becomes a Point of Importance. As

As to the first Objection, I will grant it has and ought ever to have a great Weight in our *British* Councils. But the Thing in Dispute has ever been how and by what Means it can be best effected? To which I reply, That the Safety and Security of these Dominions will in a great Measure depend on our own Wisdom and Prudence. The more we interfere in Continental Affairs, the more we add to the Hazard and Danger of these Dominions; and the less we have to do on the Continent, the more we add to their real Safety and Security. This Method will remain firm always, and unchangeably the same; whereas all other Attempts ever has been and ever will continue ineffectual and unsuccessful.

As to the second Objection, it is so ridiculous as hardly to merit any Reply. The People in *Germany* won't trade one Jot the more with us for our fighting there, let us take what Side we will, but rather the less for it. The Increase or Decrease of our Trade in *Germany*, or elsewhere, will always arise from Motives of a quite different Nature. Let us in *England* endeavour to lessen and reduce some of our most grievous and enormous Taxes, of which our Labourers are forced to pay infinitely more than their real and just Proportion: Let us endeavour also, by every possible Means, to encourage and promote a Spirit of universal Temperance, Industry, and Frugality, among our Labouring People. This being once effected, we shan't want Trade either in *Germany* or elsewhere.

Besides, with regard to His Majesty's *German* Dominions, it ought always to be remember'd that in the very Act of Settlement, wherein the Crown of these Realms is most happily conveyed to the present Regnant Family, stands the following Words: "And that in case the
 " Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm
 " should hereafter come to any Person not be-
 " ing a Native of *England*, this Nation be
 " not obliged to engage in any War for the
 " Defence of any Dominions or Territories
 " which do not belong to the Crown of *Eng-*
 " *land*, without the Consent of Parliament."

These Words did not creep in inadvertently, or unobserved. No, certainly; they were the Result of several very solemn and awful Debates; and it was publicly and openly declared that this very Clause was intended to prevent our engaging in Continental Wars, which they then deem'd to be a ruinous and destructive Measure, and also that it would ever remain repugnant to the real Interest of *Britain* to engage in a War on the Continent, even though it should be for the Defence of any Country or State (which could have no natural Connection with this Island), notwithstanding in some future Period it may happen to be govern'd by one and the same Person.

These were the calm and deliberate Sentiments of our Ancestors at the Revolution, and which they were neither afraid nor ashamed to declare before the whole World. This Act, with some others passed at the same Time,

were

were then justly deem'd and call'd the Grand Barrier to our Religion, Rights, and Liberties. I hope in God no future Minister will ever be so daring and insolent as to attempt to break down and demolish any of those Laws, either wholly or in Part. If he does he may probably bring us into the same State of Confusion and Disorder as made the then Revolution absolutely necessary.

Notwithstanding the very extraordinary and most expensive Interpositions we have made on the Continent since the Revolution, I believe I may venture to advance the following Proposition, *viz.* That there never was a Period of Time wherein the People of *England*, or the *British* Nation, were more hated, despis'd, and detested by the Majority of the Princes, Electors, by the Nobility and Gentry, by the grand Mass and Body of the People in *Germany*, than they are at this Juncture, and have been so since the Commencement of the last *German* War.

During the last War it was a common Saying in *Germany* that all or the far greater Part of the Bloodshed and Cruelty there committed ought to be lain to the Door of *England*; and they attempt to prove it in the following Manner: They say the first Donation the Queen of *Hungary* received from *England* was Five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling Money; and that as soon as this Supply had been voted by the *British* Parliament, it was remitted with more and greater Dispatch than is usual in such Cases,

Cases, and that at the particular Time she receiv'd this Money she was reduced to the lowest Degree of Poverty and Distress, the Number of her Forces were very few, quite inconsiderable, not capable of appearing in the open Field, and that they were in so shatter'd and scatter'd a Condition as obliged them to lie concealed in Woods and Forests; and had it not been for the seasonable Reception of this Money she could not have held out a Month longer, but must have submitted all her Pretensions to the Equity and Justice of the *German Diet*.

I will grant Five hundred thousand Pounds may appear a trifling Sum to a *British* Minister: But the *Germans* represent it as an amazing great Sum. And no sooner was it scatter'd in *Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia*, but it enabled the Empress-Queen to raise three great and powerful Armies, which introduced a fresh Scene of Bloodshed and Cruelty in most Parts of *Germany*.

Voltaire, in one of his Tracts, speaking of the extraordinary and surprising Attachment of the People of *England* to this famous Woman, says, even the Ladies of *England* took up the Cudgels also; "for that the *British* Ladies entered into a voluntary Subscription, and actually remitted large Sums to the Queen of *Hungary*."

I have a good Opinion of the Justice and Veracity of *Voltaire* in general. But in this Point he is most egregiously mistaken, it being

a most

a most notorious Falshood, and without the least Shadow of Truth or Reality, and for which *Voltaire* has justly drawn upon himself the united Anger and Resentment of so judicious and respectable a Body as the *British Ladies* have ever been allow'd and esteem'd to be.

It is not at all probable that this Scribble of mine should ever fall into the Hands of Mr. *Voltaire*. If it should, I beg Leave to inform him, that if he will take a tour to *England*, our *British Ladies* will tell him to his Face that what he has advanced is a false and invidious Reflection; and would solemnly affirm, that they never did, nor never will, take it in their Heads to lessen and reduce the circulating Cash of this Kingdom, by remitting it to *China*, *Germany*, or elsewhere, in order to set up or pull down Kings or Emperors. Yea, Sir, they would go farther, and tell you, That at this Period of Time wherein you advanced this Asperision we were engaged in a War with *France* and *Spain*, the two most powerful Nations in *Europe*, and that our Fabricks and Manufactures were in a very declining Condition, insomuch that thousands and ten thousands of our poor, honest, and industrious Labourers were almost half starved for want of Work, and consequently were real Objects of National Charity. All which our Ladies would tell you to your Face, and convince you of the Falsity and Improbability of your Assertion, and also that if you will act with Justice and Veracity (which is the most essential Character to every Historian),

Historian), you ought publickly to ask their Pardon, if ever you publish any further Remarks on the Conduct of *England*. I would not be understood here to imagine that Mr. *Voltaire* invented this malicious Reflection: No, by no Means: He must have been imposed on by false Information, which the most critical Searchers of the Truth are frequently liable to.

I have hitherto taken no Notice of some Treaties now subsisting between us and the Queen of *Hungary*, wherein she is obliged to give some considerable Aids and Succours in case we are attacked by *France*. Those Treaties I have never seen, nor don't know when or by whom they were made. But that there are such Treaties I am confident of. But if any Body ever laid any Stress on them, they must be very great Strangers to the real Character of this Woman. I have already mentioned that as far back as the Year 1742, when His *Prussian* Majesty had compleatly conquer'd *Silesia*, some Overtures of a Treaty were made him by the Court of *Vienna*; to which he openly replied, that he had so little Confidence in the Honour and Veracity of the Queen of *Hungary*, that he would enter into no Treaty with her, unless she could prevail on her potent Ally His *Britannick* Majesty to become a Guarantee for her, and not only as Elector of *Hannover*, but also as King of *England*. Thus you see the Opinion this Great Man had of this Empress-Queen as far back as the Year 1742.

Our late Lord *Bolinbroke* was certainly a Gentleman of much Reading and great Penetration. He tells us, in one of his Tracts, that since the Resurrection of Letters in *Europe* the Civil and Ecclesiastical Leaders of the different Parties of Men in all Nations have lost a great deal of their former Weight and Influence; and that their Power & Dominion will every-where sink and decline in Proportion as Knowledge and Learning advances in any Kingdoms. And it is from this sort of reasoning that I told you in the Beginning of this Letter that our People will not be bought and sold as they have formerly been.

I don't believe any future Minister in *England* will ever arrive to that Plenitude of Power as to make our People believe that it is for their real Interest and Benefit to sacrifice the Lives of their Soldiery, and to lavish away their Money by Millions, in setting up or pulling down Kings or Emperors in *China, Persia, Turkey, or Germany*.

Having now quite finish'd with *Germany*, I must solícite your Attention while we just step into *France*, and see how and on what Terms we stand with that great and powerful Nation.

During the last *French* War that Nation spoke and wrote of *England* in a very honourable and respectable Manner. By the *French* Nation I here mean their Nobility, Gentry, their Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers, the grand Mass and Body of their People; that is, every body except the *French* King and his Ministers.

All those different Ranks of People were Enemies to that War, and pretended their Court enter'd into it merely from a Spirit of Vanity and Wantonness, and contrary to all the Rules of National Prudence and Policy. They affirm it was for their Interest to remain neuter and quiet, and to have let *England* and *Spain* have fought their Battles alone, and without any Interposition of theirs. This was the then general and prevailing Opinion. The *French* Government found themselves under a Necessity to lay some new and additional Taxes on the People for the Support of this War: All which Taxes were paid very grudgingly and unwillingly in the great and opulent City of *Lyons*; the People rose up in Arms, and declared openly they would not pay those new Taxes. The Court was afraid to proceed too far, and the Payment was actually suspended for many Months: However, it was paid at last, but under some mitigating Circumstances.

At present we stand on very different Terms with this Nation. There is hardly a Nobleman, a Gentleman, a Merchant, Trader, or Manufacturer to be found in all *France*, but would now sit down calmly and deliberately, and sacrifice one half of his Fortune if he could thereby hasten the Ruin and Destruction of *England*.

Our ruining such a Multitude of their Merchants, and their numerous Dependants, by taking such a Number of their Ships without any Declaration of War, or any previous Notice
of

of any Kind whatever, is an Act which they call tyrannical and unwarrantable, and contrary to the Municipal Laws of Nations. This is a Notion the *French* have all got in their Heads; and I defy all the People upon Earth to beat it out again. They say, if *England* had attack'd the *French* King's Ships only, it might have had some Appearance of Equity and Justice: But the attacking their Mercantile and Trading Ships prior to any Declaration of War, or any previous Notice, can never be justify'd. However, let the *French* say what they will, it is my real Sentiment that this our Procedure is strictly legal. Probably you'll say it is not only legal but equitable. But, Sir, this is not the Point: The only Question is, If such a Procedure was consistent with that Prudence and Policy which ought alway to preside in our National Councils. For, the Moment this Point was determin'd on, it must naturally occur to every single Soul that it would inevitably draw upon us the united Vengeance and Resentment of this great and powerful Nation. And here I will draw one single Proposition, as I have done from our Transactions in *Germany*, viz. that there never was any Period of Time wherein the *British* Nation was so hated, despised, and detested by the *French*, as they now are, and have been since the Commencement of the present Hostilities.

Let us now look into *Holland*, and see on what Terms we stand with our honest Friends the *Dutch*, and what Opinion they now do,

and have for these ten or fifteen Years past, entertained of us: And here I will produce one Instance, which has often lain heavy upon my Mind. As far back as the Year 1742, (when we were fighting furiously in *Germany* for the Queen of *Hungary*) I find certain *British* Lords were sent on an Embassy to *Holland*. The chief Business was to engage the *Dutch* to enter more openly and heartily into the Measures of our then Ministry. The States General received their Memorial with a sort of silent Contempt and Indignation. However, at last they condescended to order their Grand Pensionary to give it a proper Reply. I have never seen the Memorial; but by the Old *Dutchman's* Answer (which is now before me) one may give a good Guess at the Nature and Import of it. After a very polite Introduction, he informs Their Lordships, that he would reduce their Memorial under three different and distinct Heads, and reply to each in their proper Order.

The first Head of Accusation, or Charge, against their Government, was, That they were under the immediate Influence of *France* and *French* Gold. Secondly, The natural and concurrent Fear and Dread of a Stadtholder; which is imputed to them as a most heinous Crime. Thirdly, The Dread of being stripped of Power, or rather the Lust of Power, is another Charge advanced against the Ministers of their Republick.

This Grand Pensionary now enters into a long Chain of Arguments, all tending to prove that

that the first and second Charges advanced against them are all false and ridiculous; and concludes in the following Words: "Notwithstanding those Notions have been industriously whisper'd about against the Ministers of this Republick; yea, great Pains and refin'd Address have been taken to inspire our People on this Head with Sentiments injurious to the Honour and Probity of those in the Administration of our Affairs. But I hope I have now made it evident to all the World, that no *French* Gold, nor Dread of a Stadtholder, has ever had any the least Influence on our Conduct, by not chiming in with the Views of a neighbouring Ministry." He now advances to the third Charge, *Their Fondness of Power, and their great Fear of being stripped of it*; and after offering a great many things, he concludes this Head with the following Words: "They little know how greatly the Toil of Office in this Country exceeds the Emoluments that accrue from it, who arraign the *Dutch* Ministers of Unfaithfulness to their Country, in order to continue in their Power. We have here no immense Revenues to count over a Gridiron, every Town in each Province having its own distinct Receivers, and the Revenues of each apply'd under their own particular Inspection. Fordid it, O Heaven! that the Servants of the State should be the Betrayers of it."

Having thus fairly knock'd down the three grand Charges advanced against the States General

neral by the then *English* Ministry, he proceeds to make Remarks and Observations on the Conduct of our Ministry for some Years past, and represents them on all Occasions as pursuing one single Tract or Chain of Policy, the whole and every Part of which he makes to be absolutely repugnant to the Honour, the Trade, the real Good and Welfare of this Nation. It is too long for me to transcribe; and some of his Reflections are so severe and cutting, that I am almost ashamed to relate them: However, I will give you such Scraps of it as are the most mild and gentle, and in his own very Words, as they stand in the *English* Translation. He talks a good deal of our Conduct in the last *Spanish* War, and concludes in the Words following: “ If *Britain*, who prides
“ herself in being Mistress of the Ocean, makes
“ so miserable a hand of a War on her fa-
“ vourite Element, what a scurvy Figure must
“ she make in a foreign Land War against the
“ most powerful Nation in the World? But,
“ my Lords, are you in Earnest when you tell
“ us *France* is reduced? What are her Debts?
“ I will answer for it they do not amount to
“ one fourth Part of what *Britain* now owes.
“ What are her Taxes? Not one Half of
“ what is now paid in *England*. The Trade
“ of *France* is visibly increas’d, that of *England*
“ is absolutely decreas’d. The Gasconade of
“ pulling down *France*, and this Eagerness to
“ press the Republick into an offensive Alli-
“ ance against that Crown, may serve the Pur-
“ poses

“ poses of a *British* Ministry; their Measures
 “ want such Props: But, my Lords, the Ser-
 “ vants of this Republick want no such Aids:
 “ They have no Views, no Interest, separate
 “ from that of their Country. They serve her
 “ to the best of their Skill, and to the utmost
 “ of their Power. They have not, nor ever
 “ will, put their Country to an immense or
 “ any Expence, in order to share the Spoil;
 “ or delude their Countrymen. The *Dutch*
 “ Ministers are not such a *frenshified* Crew as
 “ to declare against *France*, and at the same
 “ Time to have no Intent to fight or hurt her;
 “ and that we have talk’d of doing this only,
 “ without any real Intent, and only for the
 “ sake of raising immense Sums on the People
 “ for the sake of domestic Plunder.” This Old
Dutchman was certainly a free-spoken Man.
 This was a home Push to Their Lordships.
 Under another Head stands the following
 Words: “ That our Wars in *England* by Sea
 “ and Land have been so illy conducted, that
 “ they can’t safely ally with us against any E-
 “ nemy. That though our Ministry has been
 “ changed, there has been no Change in our
 “ Measures. That our Measures have been
 “ such that they leave a Contempt and Indig-
 “ nity on the *British* Nation in all the Courts
 “ of *Europe*. That our Commerce has decay-
 “ ed while that of *France* has increas’d. That
 “ in *England* we grow poorer and poorer, in
 “ *France* they grow richer and richer. And
 “ that the Measures we pursue are destructive
 “ to

“ to our Honour and Interest.” In another Part he barefacedly asserts “ We cannot avoid seeing what all the World sees, that *Britain* has neither S--n--rs to direct her Councils, nor Generals to fight her Battles, except Your Lordships: And we likewise see the Decrease of her Trade, the Weight of her Taxes, her Luxury, and her Debts, which might have been paid before now: And we must be infatuated not to perceive that she is infinitely in a worse Plight at this Time than when we enter’d into an Offensive Alliance with Queen *Anne*.”

In another Place he says, “ What Nation in *Europe* can reckon on *Britain*’s supporting a War against *France* with the necessary Vigour, while she groans under the Weight of more than Fifty Millions of Debts.”

In another Place he says, “ Your former Minister became universally hated, and more for his cringing Subserviency to the House of *Bourbon* than even for his Corruption, and Profusion of the Public Money: And we perceive your new Ministers implicitly bowing to every Desire of the Court for requiring Power, but still covering themselves under the Shelter of succouring the Queen of *Hungary*, and distressing *France*. And there is Reason to believe your late Bustle and Outcries are calculated to some certain domestic Purposes. We desire to be excused from having any Hand in countenancing Ministerial Collusion.”

I am

I am tired with this Speech, and will proceed no farther in it, though what I have transcribed is not above a tenth Part of it. It's all in the same Strain and Stile, and, I fear, too much Truth in it. Thus you see the calm and deliberate Sentiments of the States General as far back as the Year 1742, when this Speech was deliver'd to certain *English* Lords.

Are we now in so good Condition as at that Time? Infinitely worse. I repeat it again, (though I speak it with an aching Heart, and write it with a trembling Hand) infinitely worse: And in the Manner we carry on the present War *France* can hold out long enough to ruin three or four such Kingdoms as ours, considering our present Debts and Incumbrances, destitute of any one Friend or Ally: And notwithstanding we have continued that romantic Trade of fighting for other Folks so long, yet not a Man in *Europe* is to be found that will draw the Trigger of a single Musket for our Safety and Defence. It is no Time now to conceal Things, as all the World knows we are incapable of treating with any Court in *Europe* with the least Degree of Weight or Dignity; and nothing can save us but a thorough Change and Alteration in our whole System both of foreign and domestic Policy.

The Manner in which we carry on the present War with *France* is esteemed dishonourable to the last Degree by half the People in *England*. — I believe you will allow *Voltaire* to be a good Judge of the present political Sy-

Item of Government in most of the *European* Nations. He is certainly a Gentleman of great Labour and Study, and has made it the sole Business of his Life. He tells us, " That
 " within Fifty Years past the System of Go-
 " vernment in most Nations is in a great Mea-
 " sure alter'd and chang'd; and that during
 " this Tract their Trade, Manufactures, and
 " Navigation, have increas'd to a most surpri-
 " sing and astonishing Degree; and that hence-
 " forward vast and great Land Armies won't
 " be deem'd so just and necessary as they have
 " formerly been; and that as the Case now
 " stands, whatever Power can maintain a Su-
 " periority at Sea, will, according to the natu-
 " ral Course and Result of Things, soon gain
 " a Superiority on Land."

If we would make War with *France*, we should do it honestly and fairly, and attack her by Sea, and by Sea only; and here we should acquire Strength, Honour, and Glory; we should compleatly ruin her Navigation, which is in our Power easily to do, and thereby stop her Trade at once, which is the only Source and Foundation from whence all her Finances must arise. In *France* they have no Mines of Silver or Gold; every additional Degree of Wealth must be acquir'd by Trade, and by that only; and by stopping her Trade she would be totally stripp'd of all Resources, and we should cut the very Roots, and shut up that only Channel from whence all her Wealth and Power must come. And this may easily be
 done

done at a trifling Expence. And here I expect to be told what mighty Feats we have done this and the last War, and that we have obliged them to pay Fifty *per Cent.* Insurance on all their Goods and Merchandize to and from the *West-Indies*. But this does not distress the *French* Nation, and particularly the Mercantile Part, half so much as is generally imagined. Formerly it was supposed the *French* re-exported One-third of all their Imports from the *East* and *West Indies*; but now it is universally allowed that their Importations are so amazingly increas'd, that more than One half is re-exported. If a Merchant at *Bordeaux*, or elsewhere, imports any Articles from the *West-Indies* during the War, he is sure to find a present and immediate Sale, and at an advantageous Price; one half he re-exports, and, by Means of *Dutch* Bottoms, with the utmost Degree of Safety; and the other is sold for home Consumption, and at considerable Profit; for on all Articles of Commerce, when any additional Duty or Incumbrance is laid on it, in what Kind or Shape soever, the last Buyer and Consumer must pay it in the Price; it is not to be supposed the Merchant will lose it out of his Pocket. Whoever will sit down calmly, and consider the vast Extent of the *French* Nation, the various Connections and Dependences between one Part of the Kingdom and the other, must be sensible that their Coasting Trade is of the utmost Importance. The Brandy, Wine, Sugars, Cotton, Indigo, Coffee, &c. &c. consum'd at

Paris, Roan, and all along that noble River the *Seine* for Fifty Miles inland on each Side, and also all their *East-India* Goods, must be brought Coastways from other Ports in *France*, and be landed at the single Port of *Havre-de-Grace*, and sent up the River to *Roan* and *Paris*. The Quantities of the above Articles consumed in this Part of *France* is amazing, and exceeds all Belief. Yet all this is brought up openly from other *French* Ports to *Havre* in *Dutch* Vessels, at an easy Freight, and under the same Insurance as in Times of Peace.

Since the Commencement of the present War many of our Privateers have taken a considerable Number of those *Dutch* Ships, bound from *Nantz*, *Bourdeaux*, and many other Ports, to *Havre-de-Grace*. The Captains of our Privateers presuming they were good Prizes brought them in; and by all the Bills of Loading, and other Documents on board, it appeared that their Cargoes were really and truly *French* Property, the *Dutch* Captains affirming they had not the least Interest in those Cargoes, and had only Twenty or Thirty Shillings a Ton Freight, in Proportion to the Length of the Voyage. Many Suits have been begun in our High Court of Admiralty to obtain the Condemnation of those Cargoes, fairly proving the Property to be *French*. They made no Demand on the Ship, but on the Cargo only; at the same Time offering to pay the *Dutch* Captain the same Freight as if he had carried the Cargo to the Place it was first intended. These Claims were
all

all set aside, and the Claimants condemn'd to pay heavy Costs, and to give the *Dutch* Captains a handsome Sum of Money (fix'd by our Admiralty-Court) by way of Demurrage; and of this I could mention many particular Instances. On this Subject, I don't write from common Report, or Hear-say, but from my own Knowledge, having for my own private Amusement been at the Pains to have down Copies of their Proceedings and Determinations in a Variety of those Cases. I would not be understood here as if I intended any Reflection on our Court of Admiralty, or on that Honourable Gentleman who so worthily presides there. No; far from it. It's impossible they can act otherwise as long as the Two Marine Treaties between us and *Holland* (which I have already mention'd) are permitted to exist.

I believe few Men ever understood the *Dutch* System of Policy better than Sir *William Temple*; and he lived so much with them that he had really a particular Fondness and Esteem for their Republick. However, he is forced to acknowledge that the *Dutch* have always duped us greatly in their Marine Treaties; and he assigns a Reason for it, and says, " On the Part of
 " *Holland* those Treaties are made by Merchants and Traders themselves; or, if not,
 " they must be made by Men who are deeply
 " concern'd and interested in the Trade and
 " Mercantile Affairs of others; whereas on the
 " Part of *England* those Treaties are made by
 " Great Men and Courtiers, who have not the
 " least

“ least Knowledge in Mercantile Affairs, or of
 “ those Advantages that will naturally arise to
 “ every Kingdom from a free and extended
 “ Navigation.”

It is certainly a great Defect in our National Wisdom and Policy to suffer the *Dutch*, in so open and barefaced a manner, to add to the Strength, the Power, the Wealth, the Safety, and Security of our most inveterate Enemies, as they have this and the preceding War. No Nation upon Earth, in their right Senses, would carry on a war on so unequal a Footing. Probably, Sir, you'll here reply, that you'll send a long and learned Memorial to the *Dutch*, and desire them to give up those particular Marine Treaties. But this would be only amusing yourself and the Publick; for surely you must know that all the Memorials we have sent the *Dutch* for these Ten or Fifteen Years past have been treated with the utmost Insolence and Contempt; of which I have given you one flagrant Instance, and could give you many more were it necessary. It has for a long Time been a general and prevailing Opinion in *Holland*, that let them treat us how they please we must submit, not being in a Condition to shew any the least Resentment. This most grievous Calamity we labour under may be easily and instantly prevented, if you would write a single Letter of six Lines only to the present Grand Pensionary, desiring him to communicate to Their High Mightinesses that our Court of Admiralty has Orders to pay not the least Regard to

to any of the Marine Treaties now subsisting between them and us; and that all *French* Commodities in their Ships, whether bound Coast-ways or Foreign, appearing to be really and truly *French* Property, shall be condemn'd as a just and legal Prize; and that their Ships shall be dispatch'd as soon as possible, and receive the same Freight as if the Cargoes had been deliver'd at the Ports they were at first intended for. I cannot for my Life conceive what this Republick has done for us to merit such an Excess of Indulgence, especially in such Points as have an open Tendency to protect and enrich our Enemies, and ruin ourselves.

Within six or seven Days after your Letter had got to *Holland* the Contents would be known at *Port l' Orient*, *Rochelle*, *Nantz*, *Bordeaux*, and all their great Trading Towns; and within the Space of Forty-eight Hours after their Commodities, as Sugar, Indigo, Coffee, Cotton, in short, all the Merchandize imported from the *East* and *West Indies*, together with their Wines, Brandy, and other Produce of their Lands, would sink in Value at once full Forty per Cent. at least. This would not be all neither; they would find it extremely difficult to vend their Commodities at any Rate, as the Charge in transporting them would be so prodigiously enhanced.

From the different Ports in the Bay of *Biscay* to *Havre-de-Grace* (if my Information is right) they now pay about Thirty Shillings a Ton Freight, or a Trifle more, and about Two

or Two and half *per Cent.* Insurance. Within twenty Days after your Letter was wrote they must pay Five or Six Pounds a Ton Freight, and at least Thirty *per Cent.* Insurance. In the Summer Season I dare say they would be forced to pay Forty or Fifty *per Cent.* Insurance. For this Letter of yours would give new Life and Vigour to the Spirit of Privateering all over the Kingdom, and more especially in our Islands of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, who alone would go a good way to ruin their Coasting Trade, if carried on in *French* Bottoms, as it must now be done. I only mention here the single Port of *Havre-de-Grace*, that being the only Avenue to the grand Cities of *Paris* and *Roan*, and all that Part of the Kingdom, where the Consume of Wine, Brandy, and all Sorts of *East* and *West India* Goods is and will continue to be amazingly great. Between *Dunkirk* and *Ushant* there is a vast Number of great and populous Towns, all along the Sea Coast of *Britanny* and *Normandy*, that must have those same Commodities; all which must be convey'd to them in *French* Bottoms in twenty or thirty Days after your Letter is sent away. Their Coasting Trade being thus carried on in *French* Bottoms, it would necessarily give Employment to a great Number of *French* Sailors, and consequently there would be less to enter on board their Men of War and Privateers, which would be another National Advantage.

The Eastern Part of *France* is suppos'd to be the richest and most agreeable by far. The
Purity

Purity of the Air, and the natural Fertility of the Soil, renders it a most delightful Situation. It abounds with many great and opulent Cities and Towns, inhabited by their Nobility, Gentry, and a Multitude of Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers. This Part of the Kingdom subsists chiefly on the *Turky* Trade, which they have now brought to a prodigious Extent, and from which a vast Ballance annually reverts to the Nation. The *Turkish* Empire is not a little narrow Spot of Land, but of a vast Extent, and extremely populous, that by the *French* Accounts of it 'tis capable of being annually increas'd, and render'd more and more considerable, even for Half a Century or a Century to come. All this Trade is carried on at the single Port of *Marseilles*, and can't well be done at any other. Besides, at *Marseilles* there is a vast Trade to the *West Indies*. Their annual Exports, and Imports from thence, amount to an incredible Sum. I have been assured by several very intelligent Seafaring Men, that it's an extremely easy Matter to shut up this Port entirely, by a proper Number of Men of War to be always cruizing off this Harbour; and that it may be done in such a Manner as not to suffer a single Ship to go in or out. Could this be effected, it would be impossible for this Part of the Kingdom to exist above two Years; they must unavoidably fall into the utmost Confusions and Convulsions. Could this be effected, you would soon hear of a general and universal Cry set up in *France*, the Sound of which would

reach from *Dunkirk* even to *Marseilles*, ~~the~~
Britons are at last awak'd, their *Lion* is rous'd;
 the *English Bull-Dogs* are unabain'd and let loose,
 and we must submit or be all undone! Thus, Sir, the
 Proposition I have already mention'd will stand
 firm and unshaken, viz. that *France* may as
 well pretend to live without Food or Air, as to
 bear up under a War of three Years, provided
 the same be honestly and fairly conducted.

I am very sensible you will advance a power-
 ful Objection against sending such a Letter to
Holland as I have hinted at, and will reply,
 that there is nothing in this World the *Dutch*
 have so sacred a Regard for as their Navigation;
 and that if we proceed in so petentory a Man-
 ner, they would instantly declare War with us;
 and that we have enough upon our Hands al-
 ready, and could not engage both Nations at
 once.

I believe the *Dutch* would be a little out-
 rageous; they would bluster, and hector, and
 talk big; but they would not come to an open
 Rupture with us, and for which I could offer
 such Reasons as would appear to be just and
 conclusive; but they are too long to mention
 here. Let us put Things to the worst, and
 suppose they did actually declare War with us.
 It is easy to demonstrate it would be more for
 the Honour, the Dignity, and real Interest of
 this Nation to engage with both these two Pow-
 ers at once, than to continue the War with
France alone on the present unequal Footing.
 And by engaging both at once we should dis-
 stress

stress the *French* Nation more in one Month than we do now in six, or perhaps in ten. Our Cause and Proceeding here would be *strictly equitable* and *just*, and, *consequently*, we may *safely repose our Trust and Confidence in God*. There is even yet a real and inherent Strength in this Nation to fight both at Sea, and to come off victorious, if carefully conducted. I shall urge this Matter no further.

I am sorry to my Heart to say it (but I fear it is a real Truth) that no Nation in *Europe* has been so unhappy in making Wars, or so unhappy in conducting them; and that we have been the most unhappy of all in finishing and concluding them.

The only Source and Foundation of the last War with *Spain* was, that we would not submit to a most shameful and injurious *Right* which they *pretended* to have, of bringing to and rumaging our Ships on the High Seas. This, I say, was the Foundation of the War. When the Peace was settled at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in *October 1748*, it does not appear that ever this important Point came under Consideration at all, or that the National Commissaries or Plenipotentiaries took any the least Notice of it; but left it in the same State of Doubt and Uncertainty as before. And there is at this Moment all the Reason in the World to believe we shall have another Squabble with *Spain* within these seven Years on the very same Score. Is not this a loose Way of doing Business?

In the last *French War* our brave *New-Englandmen*, at the Hazard of their Lives, and at a great Expence out of their own Pockets, took *Cape-Breton*; -- and *we gave it up to the French again*. It then engaged my Attention a good deal to find out what Consideration was given for this very important Place; and to this Moment I can't discover we had ever a single Half-Crown for it; and that it was given up solely to procure the Restitution of a few ragged Towns and Fortresses for this famous *Queen of Hungary*. O my Country! O my Country!

I could sit down and write a Volume to convince you of the vast Importance of this Place. It would instantly have increas'd our Trade and Navigation in a most surprizing Manner; it would have open'd a little New World to us. But this is not all; it would really have served as an eternal Barrier and Security to the greatest Part of our *American Colonies*.

I have always been accusom'd to look on the Reign of *Charles II.* as a weak, wicked, and profligate Reign. This Prince and his Court did not trouble themselves much about National Affairs: Their main and chief Business was Whoring, Gaming, Vice, Pleasure, Drunkenness, and the most open Debauchery; and by their Influence and Example those Practices made a pretty general Spread in the Kingdom.

However, notwithstanding all this, I have been often-times amaz'd and confounded on examining the Transactions of our Parliaments in this Prince's Reign. There was certainly a
great

great Number of honest Men amongst them; Men that lov'd their Country, and understood and supported the Commercial Interest of this Kingdom in a surprizing Manner, of which I could give you a Variety of Instances, but will mention only one. In the 12th Year of this Reign it was communicated to the Parliament, that the *French*, and our modest Friends the *Dutch*, carried on a sort of an interloping Trade to our *American* Colonies, very much to the Disadvantage of this Nation. This Information was receiv'd by the then Parliament with the utmost Degree of Indignation and Resentment, and they came to the following Resolution: " That our *American* Colonies were the grand
 " Bulwark of the *English* Commerce; and that
 " *Great-Britain* had now two grand Objects in
 " View, one the Increase of our Naval Power,
 " which was the necessary Consequence of this
 " Trade; the other, That now it became ab-
 " solutely necessary that we should appropriate
 " and secure to ourselves all the Advantages
 " and Emoluments arising from this Trade to
 " our Colonies, it being the main Source of
 " our Wealth and Power."

This Parliament never sent one Embassador or Memorial either to *France* or *Holland*, but instantly made a Law, a small Part of which I will here transcribe: " It is hereby enacted,
 " That no Goods shall be imported into, or
 " exported out of, any Territories belonging to
 " the King in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, in any
 " other Vessel than such only as belong to the
 " People

" People of *England, Ireland, Wales*, and the
 " Town of *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, or are built
 " in *British* Plantations and own'd by *British*
 " Subjects. And all Commanders of His Ma-
 " jesty's Ships of War are hereby empowered
 " and required to seize and bring in as Prizes
 " all Vessels offending contrary to this Act;
 " one Moiety of such to the Use of the Com-
 " manders and their Crews, and the other
 " Moiety to the King." Vide An Act pass'd
 in the 12th of *Charles II.* Chap. 18.

This Law did not fully answer the Intentions
 of the Parliament; and in about two Years af-
 terward they pass'd another Law, in a Manner
 much more particular, whereby the unrighte-
 ous Attempts both of *France* and *Holland* were
 defeated, and knock'd down at once.

Of what Men this Parliament was compos'd
 I know not, nor will I give myself the Trou-
 ble to enquire. I don't pretend to justify their
 Conduct in other Respects; That does not fall
 under my Consideration at all: But in all Mat-
 ters relating to the Commercial Interest of this
 Kingdom they understood them perfectly, and
 acted like honest and wise Men, of which I
 could give you many other Instances.

I have often reflected in my own Mind, that
 had we been so lucky as to have taken *Cape-
 Breton* in this Prince's Reign, this Parliament
 would have seen the vast Importance of it, and
 would not have advis'd their Prince to restore it
 again to *France*, or make a Present of it to any
 of the *Austrian* Family. And could this Par-
 liament

moment be again brought upon the stage of Action, I don't believe they would suffer us to be seduced by the *Dutch* in that open and notorious Manner we now are.

It is now universally allow'd and agreed, that there is no Nation upon Earth where Trade is so well understood, and has been so much protected and encouraged, as in *France*. I will grant the *Dutch* have done great Things this Way; but the *French* have exceeded them vastly. Trade, and the Study of Trade, in *France* is look'd upon as an Art or Science. In *Prussia* War is esteem'd as an Art or Science likewise. But I don't imagine the Study of War in *Prussia* has been cultivated and encouraged more than the Art of Trade in *France*.

The late Cardinal *de Fleury*, notwithstanding the great Load of Government that rested almost alone upon his Head, yet he took a good deal of Time to obtain a perfect Knowledge of their Commercial Interest, and strongly recommended the same to Numbers of Men of considerable Rank and Distinction, who, he thought, had Talents and Abilities adapted to such a Study, alledging that thereby they would plainly see the most advantageous Connections that *France* had or ought to have with all other Countries in the World. Of this Cardinal's Abilities for Trade I could give you a great many Instances; but it would be too tedious to do it now. In *France* even the least and most minute Branches of their Trade are under a Variety of Regulations, all admirably adapted to the

the Nature and peculiar Circumstances of each particular Branch; the only Aim and Design of which is to render each Branch more considerable and extensive.

It is an undoubted Truth that since the primary Formation of the Terrestrial Globe that no Nation under Heaven has ever made such an amazing Progress in Trade as the *French* have done within this Half a Century past. And this, and this only, has been the Source and Foundation of their Wealth and Power.

Let us suppose, for once, that *England* and *France* were to hold out Fifty Years longer; and that each Nation was to pursue in all Respects the System of Policy they have done for Thirty Years past. In such a Case there would be all the Reason in the World to believe the *French* would beat us out of all the Trade in *Europe* before the End of these Fifty Years. I don't pretend to a Spirit of Prophecy; I only reason from the natural Course and Result of Things. Our *American* Colonies are most vigorously attack'd; their Fate must now be determined by the longest Sword and the largest Purse. Should we lose them likewise, we should have no Trade at all. And what then? Why then, Sir, in two or three Centuries we should revert back into the same State and Condition as we were in a few Centuries past, when a good fat Bullock would not sell for more than seven or eight Shillings, and a fat Sheep for above fourteen or sixteen Pence. This you'll perhaps say would be a most wonderful and amazing Revolution

Revolution indeed: But, give me Leave to say, there would be nothing at all in it amazing or wonderful. The same Causes ever will produce the same Effects; and there are many Nations now in the World, by a long Succession of weak and wicked Administrations, have undergone as great a Revolution as this would be.

Mr. *Locke* roundly asserts (and very justly too) that if ever this Nation comes to be ruin'd and undone, the Landed Interest will sink first of all; and that the Mercantile and Trading Interest will have the Pleasure and Satisfaction of being ruin'd last of all.

I remember a Friend of mine wrote a Tract (in Manuscript) about fourteen or fifteen Years since. It was intended to demonstrate that some particular Branch of our Trade may be rendered abundantly more considerable and extensive by some trifling Aid and Assistance from the Government. This Tract was sent to a Gentleman of *London* of considerable Rank in the then Administration, and also of very considerable Abilities. — Sometime after being in Company with this Gentleman, and knowing he had received the Tract, I took the Liberty to ask him if he had ever read it, and what was become of it. He reply'd he read it over two or three times with great Attention, and then sent it to Mr. *Horace Walpole*; saying, *This Gentleman knows more of this Matter than I do, or, I believe, than any Gentleman of my Acquaintance*: And goes on further, saying, *About ten*
O Days

Days afterward I accidentally met Mr. Walpole, and asked him if he had ever read the Manuscript, and if the Facts so strongly asserted therein were true or not? Mr. Walpole reply'd he had read it carefully, and that the Facts were certainly true, and the Reasonings on them for the most Part very just; and that he had some Thoughts of laying it before the Board of Trade. Whereupon this Gentleman said he could not forbear laughing. Upon which Mr. Walpole said very gravely, I am sorry for it, but so it is; our Board of Trade is now become little else than a Receptacle for old and decayed Courtiers. This, you'll say, is a hear-say Story; but it is as true as you now exist. This pass'd in a common Conversation; not the least Remark or Observation on it: But when I came to consider it calmly, and alone, it affected me in a very sensible and tender Manner, especially when I came to reflect that we were a trading Nation, and must for ever subsist by Trade, and by that only. I could not forbear looking on it as a most notorious Act of Injustice to the Publick, to permit Persons to have the Superintendancy of our whole Commercial Interest, who may reasonably be supposed to have not the least Talents or Abilities for it. This is what never has, and in all Probability never will be, the Case in France. No, Sir; the Gentlemen who have the Superintendancy of their vast Commerce are all Men that have Talents naturally adapted to such Employments; Men of Labour and Industry, who have made it in a peculiar Manner their Study,

Study, and are perfectly well acquainted with the whole Extent of their Foreign and Inland Trade. And such Men will be ready and capable on all Occasions to give any Aid or Assistance to any Branch that may stand in need of it.

In all Nations in the World, where one single Subject shall engross to himself the sole Dominion, and should happen to be extremely tenacious and ambitious of this most exorbitant Power, such a Man won't boggle at sacrificing Armies or Navies, or even the Trade of a Kingdom, or any thing else that may stand in his Way, to the Support and Continuance of his own Power.

That Great and Good Man the Archbishop of *Cambrai* says, that the Tyranny and Usurpation of Ministers of State, or the Deputy Rulers and Governors of little Kingdoms or Provinces, is in its own Nature abundantly more ruinous and destructive to Society, than Regal Tyranny. And it must certainly be so. My Lord *Bacon* and Mr. *Locke* both agree that in all free Communities and Societies of Men, a sacred Regard and Reverence should ever be paid to all their known and establish'd Laws; for in all those Countries wherever Law ends, they affirm, there Tyranny and Usurpation instantly begin; for in free States the Governors, as well as the Governed, are equally and alike obliged to the Observation of those Laws; For in all free Communities and Countries upon Earth wherever Law ends, there Tyranny and Usurpation

instantly begin. And if this Public Violation is connived at, and permitted to prevail for a long Time, nobody knows where it will end; and very probably, sooner or later, such a free Community, by such Connivance and Indulgence, may be reduced to the meanest and most abject Slavery.

Let us for a Moment look into the State and Condition of Antient *Rome, Greece, Carthage, Athens*, and the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. These formerly were all free Communities and Societies of Men; and the primary Cause and Foundation of their entering into Society was for their mutual Safety and Protection: They had their respective Constitutions, and their known and establish'd Laws; which Laws were equally and alike obligatory on the Governors and Governed. But in many Countries those People have unhappily permitted their Governors to abate that just Reverence and Regard that ought ever to be paid to their Laws, and to live and act in open Violation of them. This being permitted and allow'd for a long Succession of Years, they then go one Step further, and perhaps will venture to attack some of their primary and fundamental Laws, and even make some slight Breaches on the Constitution itself. This being likewise indulged, and connived at, next comes to be open'd the finishing and concluding Scene of all, the total Subversion of their Constitution; and then nothing remains but the Establishment of an absolute and despotic Government. And by these

these Means many free Kingdoms and Nations have reduced themselves and their Posterity to the lowest Degree of Slavery and Vassalage; and all their own Faults; for want of a little more Honesty, Care, and Circumspection, at first. It is seldom or never that free Kingdoms or Nations are enslav'd at once: It's the Work of Time, and is generally done by those gradual Steps and slow Progressions which I have here mention'd, and of which I could give you many particular Instances, were it necessary.

I am very sensible you'll tell me, it is now Time to conclude. I am really sorry to be so tedious; it's what I did not at first intend. But I cannot part with you yet, having two Points more of considerable Importance, in which I will be as brief as possible.

In the first Place I must here revert back to my old speechifying *Dutchman*, having omitted one important Particular in the Course of his Speech. He tells Their Lordships (that is, the *English* Embassadors) twice, if not three times, that there was one Part of the Conduct of the then *English* Ministry that surpriz'd and amaz'd the *Dutch* Government more than any thing else; which was, their going on in increasing every Year the Taxes upon their People, and at the same Time making large and annual Additions to their National Debt; and on this Point he makes some very just Observations, but I won't take the Time to transcribe them.

I never had the Honour to be acquainted with the late Sir *Joseph Jeykell*. The general Character

Character he bore in the World (if I am rightly inform'd) was that of a great Lawyer, a very able Statesman, a hearty Lover of his Country, and a downright honest Man. Some Years ago I had an Opportunity of spending a few Days with a very worthy Gentleman (a very near Relation to this Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, and who had lived in House with him at *London*), of whom I made many Enquiries relating to the publick and private Life and Character of this Good and Great Man; and amongst a Variety of other Things I intreated him to inform me what were the real Reasons that induced Sir *Joseph Jekyll* to give by his last Will and Testament Thirty Thousand Pounds towards the Reduction of the National Debt; and observ'd to him, that altho' Thirty Thousand Pounds was a very large Sum to a private Family, yet considering the Immensity of our Public Debt, it was a mere Trifle, and quite inconsiderable. To which this Gentleman reply'd in the following Words, or Words of the same Import, as I soon after committed them to Writing: *That for a considerable Time before his Death he would be frequently under a great Pressure of Mind, and Dejection of Spirits; and all on account of the Public: And he sincerely believed he was more deeply concerned about what would become of this Nation, than he was about the future Welfare and Happiness of any or all the Relations he had in the World: And that he would frequently reflect with very great Severity on our Public Managers. And the grand and constant Subject of his Complaint was,*
that

[III]

that for a long Succession of Years we had gone on increasing our Taxes upon the People, and at the very same Time making very large and annual Additions to the National Debts; and that this Conduct alone must inevitably end and terminate in our utter Ruin and Destruction: And would frequently say that this is the Rock on which our poor Nation must one Time or other be lost or shipwreck'd: And that the reducing such a vast Number of our People to a State of Bankruptcy in one single Instant, would probably unbinge and subvert our Government, and, according to the natural Course of Things, would produce such a State of Anarchy and Confusion as to render us an easy Prey to some petty Invader.

Sir Joseph Jeykell was very sensible that Thirty Thousand Pounds was a mere Trifle for the Purpose intended: But one main Reason that induced him to it was, that it might remain as a standing Memorial to the People of this Nation that he had pointed out to them that fatal Rock on which we were running full Speed.

I find the last Question I ask'd this Gentleman on this Subject was, that if when Sir Joseph Jeykell talk'd on this Affair, it was not in a light trivial Manner? To which he reply'd, No, certainly, but with the utmost Seriousness and Solemnity; and that he remained in those Sentiments, which were very strongly impressed upon his Mind, even to the Day of his Death.

I don't know if Sir Joseph Jeykell had ever any Acquaintance with my old speechifying Dutchman: But I find they exactly concur and agree

agree in their Sentiments and Reasonings on this Point.

The Credit of a Nation, Sir, and that of a private Merchant or Trader, is exactly the same. It does not differ a Hair's Breadth, only as in greater and lesser. I will suppose that there are many private Merchants and Traders in this Kingdom who may support themselves under a Debt of Fifty Thousand Pounds, and even then remain in flourishing Circumstances: But should this Merchant imprudently load himself with a Debt of One Hundred or One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds, then his Situation would instantly become extremely hazardous; any little unexpected Event, any unfortunate Accident, may sink his Credit, and then he is ruin'd and undone at once.

I will suppose this Kingdom may safely exist under a Debt of Fifty Millions (and that is no trifling Sum neither). I will further suppose that in some future Period of Time we should have a Minister that should have the same Demands for Money as some former Ministers have had, and perhaps for the same private Purposes: And should this Minister take it in his Head to increase our Debt to One Hundred or One Hundred and Twenty Millions, any little unforeseen Accident, or unexpected Event, may sink our National Credit at Home and Abroad, and we may be compleatly and irrecoverably all ruin'd and undone at once.

In all Governments upon Earth the best Way to render it permanent and durable is to

raise

raise all the necessary Expences within the Compass of the same Year, if it can possibly be done; and by this Means they will never be plagued with grand Usurers, or rapacious Money-mongers, whether *Jews* or *Christians*: For whenever a Kingdom or Nation is brought into such a State and Condition, as that their very Being and Existence must depend on the precarious and uncertain Aids of those kind of People, they may be truly said to be in a State of the utmost Hazard and Danger.

I have already caution'd you, in the Beginning of my Letter, against a too violent Attachment to any one Party. I must resume this Point again for a few Minutes; only I apprehend you call yourself a Whig, and perhaps will allow that we have been under a constant Whig Administration for Thirty Years past; and that our Administration have all along acted right and well, by endeavouring, by all possible Methods, to keep out any one Man that is of the contrary Party from having any the least Share in the Administration, and from any Profit naturally arising from it, even in the least or most remote Degree. I have already told you I am a Whig, Sir, and am as firmly attach'd to the Principles of Whiggism as you, or any Man can or ought to be: But I cannot avoid being of Opinion that our Administration in this Point have acted fundamentally wrong, and contrary to our real Good and Welfare, and quite repugnant to the Honour, Trade, Wealth, and Dignity of this Nation. Had a
considerable

considerable Number of our Tory Party been permitted to have had a tolerable Share in our Administration for Twenty Years past, we should certainly have been in a much better Condition than we now are; they could not have acted worse. Tho' all our Administrations have been compos'd of Whigs only, that is, they call themselves Whigs, and are so esteem'd by others, yet I could point out to you a hundred, yea I may say a thousand, Instances wherein they have acted openly and before all the World contrary to all the real and genuine Principles of Whiggism.

When I consider the Number of the Tories in this Kingdom, and the large Share of the Lands and Wealth they do really possess, I could never beat it into my Head to conceive that the total Exclusion of such a Number of Men was ever consistent with National Wisdom and Policy, or with that natural Justice and Equity which ought ever to subsist between Man and Man, or between Party and Party.

Amongst such a large Body of Men as the Tories are there must always be found a considerable Number of Men of Capacity, Ability, Integrity, independent, and disinterested: And these are the Men, and the only Men, that must work out Salvation and Deliverance for us: And it's of no Consequence to the Publick, let them call themselves by, what Name or Party they please.

I would by no Means be understood to recommend that our Whigs should be all turn'd

on their Backs, and the whole Administration engross'd by the Tories alone. No, by no Means in the World; for probably they may take it into their Heads to act over the same Game again: For among such a Body of Men there may arise some Great Man, a Man of eminent Talents and Abilities, and at the same Time most accursedly tenacious, and ambitious of getting the sole Power into his own Hand. And pray what has such a Man to do? Only to secure Three Hundred Men in a certain Place. And if he can't get these Men fairly and honestly, he will try all the venal and corrupt Methods that the Mind of Man can devise. Those Men being once secur'd, he sets up for himself, and begins to look on himself and his little venal Junto as the People of *England*; and they alone, and a few of their Dependants, must live in the utmost Riot, Luxury, and Excess, while 7 or 8 Millions of People must be left to contend with the utmost Difficulties, Poverty, and Distress; and at the same Time the Honour, Dignity, and Glory of the Nation, be permitted to fall into the most shameful Contempt and Disgrace. Should this Great and Ambitious Man be hardly push'd, he may go much farther yet; and even be induced publicly to sacrifice Armies, Navies, Trade, and every thing else, to support himself and his little Junto. O Heaven forbid it, that ever the People of *England* should permit any one Man, of whatever Party he may call himself, to act so daring and wicked a Part!

My Lord Bacon, the famous Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Mr. *Locke*, all agree, that whenever a Great Man shall make such Attempts as these, it's owing to a Weakness of Judgment, and that his System of Policy is fundamentally wrong, not only as it may ruin his Country, but as it relates to himself, his Family, or Friends. They all say that when a Body or Party of Men comes to be link'd and chain'd together by one grand and pecuniary Cement, that this Cement must run through the whole, even to the remotest Channels; and that such a Party may for some Time act with great Firmness and Unanimity, and may become triumphant and victorious over all their Opponents. But these Gentlemen all agree that Power so obtain'd, in any Kingdom or Nation, can never be permanent or durable: They say the Foundation on which this Power is erected is in its own Nature wicked and unrighteous, and that it will ever require great and extraordinary annual Additions to the pecuniary Cement, and in a very short Time the Demands of the Corrupted will exceed the Abilities of the Corruptor; and whenever this Cement begins to weaken and dissolve, such a Party will be unhing'd, and instantly fall to pieces at once; and that all Attempts to re-establish or re-unite them will for ever remain ineffectual and unsuccessful. I will say of all such Bodies or Parties of Men, let them arise in any Nation whatever, in the Words of our celebrated Poet *Shakespear*, though on a different Occasion, that,

that, sooner or later, they shall all

“ dissolve,

“ And, like the baneless Fabric of a Vision,

“ Leave not a Wreck behind.”

I speak here of them as a Party, or collective Body of Men; for I will readily allow that in such a Combination there may be a considerable Number of Men of real Honour and Virtue, and who lov'd their Country, but were inadvertently drawn into those Combinations by the Influence of a general Example, or perhaps by the false Insinuations of some Great Man, and from a Want of a little more Sagacity and Foresight, who, when they came to see the Result and Consequence of their Doings, were heartily sorry for it. In such Cases it is not the Under-Agents that are the Grand Criminals, but the Primary Authors, Contrivers, and Chief Managers; and it is they that deserve the utmost Censure and Punishment. That noble and ingenious Writer, the Right Hon. *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, tells the World, in his first Volume of *Characteristicks*, Page 126, 127, “ I know of nothing greater or more noble than the undertaking and managing some important Accusation, by which some high Criminal of State, or some form'd Body of Offenders against the Publick, may be arraigned and brought to Judgment, through the honest Zeal and public Affection of private Men; and this must be always done by such a rectifying Object as the *Gallows* before their Eyes.”

These

These were the calm and deliberate Sentiments of this very Great Man. I could transcribe many other Quotations from his Writings to the same Purpose, in as strong Terms, or stronger if possible, wherein he proves that it is necessary to the very Being and Existence of all Governments, that State Criminals, or all form'd Bodies or Parties, that will dare to live and act publicly in open Contempt and Violation of their known and establish'd Laws, be brought to the most condign Punishment.

It's but a very inconsiderable Part of the Old *Dutchman's* Speech that I have here transcribed. I make no Question but you must have seen and read the whole of it ten or fifteen Years since. If you have it by you, let me beg you to read it once more, and with some Degree of Attention, and you'll plainly see he all along goes upon one Supposition, and which he takes for granted, That our then publick Managers supported themselves merely by Methods the most venal and corrupt, and that consequently their Rule and Dominion could not last long. At this Period of Time had you been at *Paris* or *Madrid*, and there convers'd with the Ministers of State, depend on it they would have talked to you in the same Strain.

If you consider the particular Frame and Model of our Government, you must be sensible that our internal Policy ever has and ever will be as well and perfectly known at *Amsterdam*, *Paris*, *Madrid*, and all the Courts in *Europe*, as at *London*.

Voltaire,

Voltaire, speaking of those Times in one of his Tracts, openly and publickly tells all *Europe* that at *London* the *English* must have one grand and eminent Dispenser, and that this Dispenser kept a publick open Shop, and sold a certain sovereign Drug, and that this Drug operated upon the *English* Minds miraculously and instantaneously, making Men all at once think, act, write, and talk, directly opposite to what they had openly done for ten or fifteen Years before. *Voltaire's* Design in writing in this Manner is very apparent. He represents us to all the Courts in *Europe* as the most venal and corrupt, and that without it no Administration can be supported. And thereby he attempts to diminish that Antient Grandeur, Lustre, and Dignity, for which in the Days of our Ancestors we were justly renowned all the World over. I hope in God no *British* or Foreign Historian will ever more have Cause to bring such a shameful and detestable Aspersions upon this Government, or the Administration of it.

I begin to fear you'll think I bear a little too hard upon some of your quondam Friends: But here I must beg you, Sir, to stand still a little, make a Pause, lay your Hand upon your Heart, while I ask you a few plain simple Questions.

Question the first. Was it under a Whig or Tory Administration that our National Debt is brought from Thirty to Eighty Millions?

Question

Question the second. Was it under a Whig or Tory Administration that a young Stripling landed a few Years since in *Scotland* with forty-four Men, and quite a Stranger to the Military Art or Science; and that he collected a ragged Rabble of two or three thousand Men at first, without Shoes or Stockings to their Feet, without Clothes on their Backs, or Meat in their Bellies; & that this young Fellow, at the Head of this ragged and undisciplined Rout, faced His Majesty's Regular Troops both Horse and Foot, and more than once made 'em fly before them with Fear and Trembling; and that the Leaders of those Regular Troops were permitted to escape without the least Degree of Censure or Punishment. This young Fellow actually conquer'd the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* (the Castle of *Edinburgh* only excepted); and, what is more, he openly and in broad Daylight enter'd this Kingdom, got almost to the Center of it, and within a few Days March of our grand Metropolis, and fill'd the Heart of every Soul there with Fear and Anguish. I won't pretend to detetmine with what Face this appear'd in all the Courts of *Europe*; but this I will say, and chiefly from my own Knowledge, that the grand Mass and Body of the People in *France, Holland, Germany, Portugal, Spain, and Italy*, all receiv'd the News of this Transaction with Wonder and Amazement, and unanimously agreed that they had most horridly been imposed upon in the Accounts they had received, and in the Opinion they had entertain'd

of the *British* Nation ; and that they were not that brave, that military, and warlike People which they were represented to have been.

Question the third. Was it under a Whig or a Tory Administration that our Grand Fleet the last War, in the *Mediterranean*, refus'd to destroy the Combin'd Fleet of *France* and *Spain*, when all agreed they might easily have done it ? A good Number of our Ships did not fight at all ; a great many of them fought most shamefully, according to the new-fashion'd Way of fighting at the Distance of a Mile, or Mile and half ; a Way of fighting unknown to our Ancestors. I will readily allow some few fought bravely ; but their Number was so small, that they fell a Sacrifice to the superior Force of the Enemy.

Question the fourth. Was it under a Whig or a Tory Administration that two famous Admirals, ten grand Captains, four or five bold and valiant Land Officers, came to a Resolution (without one dissenting Vote, or without the least Difficulty or Dispute, and every Man publicly sign'd it with his own Hand) *First*, That they would not make the least Attempt to secure the important Island of *Minorca*, notwithstanding they all knew they were sent out on Purpose to relieve it. *Secondly*, That they would not attack the *French* Fleet, but instantly fled before it, under a Pretence to cover *Gibraltar* ; the plain *English* of which is, to shelter and cover themselves under the Cannon of that Garrison. And notwithstanding it has appear'd

Q

since,

since, by plain and indubitable Proofs from *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, that this Fleet was not near in so good a Condition to defend as ours were to attack, yet this very Council of War was permitted to escape without the least Censure or Punishment.

I could ask you a hundred Questions more of equal Importance, and would do it were it not for the fear of being too tedious.

My becoming, Sir, a publick Advocate for the Tories must not be esteem'd as a Matter of Choice or Inclination. No; it's merely the Effect of Necessity, as I can't see any other Way whereby Redemption or Salvation can be wrought out for us than by permitting the honest, sensible, independent, and disinterested Tories, to have a large Share in our Administration, in Conjunction with the Whigs, and for which I could offer you many substantial Reasons. Most of our Tories are vastly improved in all Branches of useful Knowledge and polite Literature, from what they were forty Years past, and are become ashamed of the old arbitrary Principles of their Ancestors: They would now scorn to quarrel about Names, Parties, or Persons, and would readily concur with any Party or Person to save our Country: The honest and sensible Men on both Sides would drop all personal Alliances and Party Combinations, and would let nothing stand between them and the Honour of their King and the real Good of their Country: And, what is more, Men of such honest and laudable Principles

ciples would all jointly agree to pursue with Vengeance and Destruction all those who may hereafter ever attempt to spread an accursed and prevailing Spirit of Venality and Corruption over the Face of this Kingdom, and which alone has brought us into our present unhappy Situation. Besides, I really think the Tory Party has something of Importance to plead in their own Behalf: Prior to the Revolution they were certainly much more considerable than the Whigs, both as to Numbers and their private Fortunes and Estates; yet how did they act then? They plainly saw the then reigning Prince was about to set up a despotic and arbitrary Power, and that he began to demolish and overset our Constitution. I say, how did they act then? They cordially embraced the Whigs, and most heartily desired their concurrent Aid and Assistance to save the sinking Nation. And by this hearty and sincere Union they presently succeeded, and without any Violence or Bloodshed. I will readily grant this was a difficult Part for the Tories to act, especially considering the great Unhappiness those Gentlemen had laboured under in Point of Education; for by their giving up the then reigning Prince, they bid open Defiance to the Doctrines of *Jure Divino*, Non-Resistance, Passive Obedience, Hereditary Right, and many other ridiculous and nonsensical Absurdities, which their weak and wicked Ecclesiastical Preceptors had been stuffing into their Heads for Half a Century before. These were great & mighty Difficulties indeed:

However, the Love they bore their native Country, and the sacred Regard they had to the Laws and Constitutions of this Realm, induced them to surmount them all openly and bravely.

Our Whigs at present have none of these Difficulties to encounter. They may join the Tories without any Violence to themselves, and yet be quite consistent with their own genuine Principles; and there never can be a more proper Time for it than the present. But suppose the Whigs should still remain obstinate, I much question if it will be in their Power to keep them out much longer, unless they are determined to exert a pecuniary Interest in a manner more universal, and much more powerful, than has ever yet been done; and I will give you my Reasons for it. It is said (and I believe with Truth) that our Whigs and Tories in many of our Boroughs are already come nearer together than they formerly were, and that they will not so ridiculously amuse themselves about foolish idle Party Names as they have formerly done, but will agree in the Choice of such Men as shall appear to be the most independent and disinterested, from the present general prevailing Opinion that these are necessary and essential Qualifications. In other Boroughs, it is said, that the sober and virtuous Part of our People, of both Sides, are now agreeing to oppose every Candidate whatever that shall attempt to introduce into their Boroughs such horrid Scenes of Drunkenness, Debauchery, Impiety and open Profaneness, as is now practised

tified in many Boroughs for two Months (sometimes three, four, fix) before an Election comes on. It's almost impossible to describe what Wickedness and Impiety is committed on such Occasions, and how injurious it is to the Souls and Bodies of our People. Besides, it is extremely ruinous and destructive to our Trade and Manufactures, and gives great Offence to all the sober and virtuous Part of the Nation, whether Whigs or Tories. And when this horrid Scene draws to a Conclusion, and the Election Day is come, then the most gloomy and dreadful Spectacle of all appears, that of seeing their Neighbours by Dozens and Scores guilty of the most wilful and deliberate Perjury, as has been the Case in many of our Borough Towns.

There are a great many of our midling Sort of Gentry, and of our Merchants, Traders, and Manufacturers, both of Whigs and Tories, who are so very unpolite as even yet to adhere to those old-fashion'd Doctrines of Honour, real Virtue, Sobriety, Temperance, and Chastity; and these Men are of very considerable Weight and Influence in this Nation; and they all tell us that those Crimes I have just now mention'd are of a very black and atrocious Kind, and have in their own Nature a direct Tendency to draw down the Judgments of Heaven upon this or any other Nation where they are permitted and encouraged: And moreover they say those Practises are quite repugnant to our known and establish'd Laws, which
ought

ought always to be treated with some little Regard and Reverence. Others will go further, and pretend those Practises may be deem'd as Attacks or slight Breaches upon our very Constitution itself.

God Almighty grant that the sober and virtuous Part of this Nation may be endow'd with a Spirit of Resolution and Bravery sufficient to put a final End to those impious and ungodly Practises.

A sincere and hearty Union of all Parties is the only Method to secure and maintain the internal Peace and Tranquility of this Kingdom: Besides, it would greatly contribute to the raising the Reputation and Dignity of our Nation in all the Courts of *Europe*, where it is now at the lowest Pitch. The *French* Historians tell us that when the late *French* King heard that the Prince of *Orange* was pass'd the Streights between *Dover* and *Calais*, he became quite raving mad, and instantly turn'd off *Louvois*, one of his Secretaries of State, with the utmost Indignation, for not having procured better and more early Intelligence. The Military Officers were all conven'd at Court; a Variety of Schemes were proposed to assist King *James* and defeat the Prince of *Orange*; but in a little Time after the Court received Expresses daily from the Jesuits in *London* (for at that Time there were a vast Number of Jesuits about our Court, who had the sole Management of the *French* Affairs), telling them that the Prince of *Orange* was landed, and hastening to
London

London without the least Opposition; for that our two contending Parties of Whigs and Tories were quite united, and would not afford King *James* any the least Aid or Assistance. Father *le Chaise*, the *French* King's Confessor, pretended those Accounts were all false, and that their Agents the Jesuits must have been greatly imposed upon; for that it was impossible the Tories (or the High Church Party) could ever desert the King, declaring it to be directly opposite to all their open and avowed Principles. However a few Expresses more put this Matter out of all Doubt: Whereupon the King fell into a State of the utmost Sullenness and Despair, and could hardly be prevailed upon to see any Company at all. Father *le Chaise* (who by the way was as good a Politician as a Divine) declared to every body that came to Court, that all Attempts to relieve and assist King *James* must now be laid aside; nothing could be done at present, as now they must oppose the united Strength of the whole *British* Nation.

Madame *de Montespan*, one of the *French* King's principal Whores, (for I don't allow Madame *de Maintenon* ever to have been of that Number) seeing the King in such a horrible gloomy Way, she pretended to be almost out of her Senses, and ran about from Room to Room ranting and raving like a mad Woman, declaring to every body that if she could catch the Prince of *Orange* she would fight him alone, she would tear out his Heart, strangle him, or
hang

hang him with her very Garters, if nothing better could be found. In short, when the Court of *France* saw that our two contending Parties were heartily united, it threw them into a State of the utmost Horror and Despair. I will mention but this single Instance, tho' I could offer many others, to convince you that a hearty and cordial Union amongst ourselves would greatly add to the Weight, Influence, and Dignity of this Nation in all the foreign Courts of *Europe*.

I have now done as far as it regards the Publick, and will conclude with a Quotation from Holy Writ, which, I assure you, in my most serious Moments has lain heavy upon my Mind, as I fear they are too applicable to our present State and Condition. The Prophet *Isaiab* talks a good deal to the Children of *Israel* as a Nation. In many Places he upbraids them severely for their universal Spirit of Corruption, and Depravity of Manners; in other Places he tells them that Vice, Profaneness, and Impiety, had actually overspread the Face of their whole Nation and People. He takes a good deal of Pains to set their Sins in Order before their Eyes, and strongly intimates to them that the Time of their Destruction was drawing near; and then concludes in Language very significant and important, by telling them, *That they were a sinful Nation, a People laden with Iniquity, a Seed of Evil-doers; that the whole Head was sick, and the whole Heart faint; and that from the Sole of the Foot, even to the Crown of the Head, there*
was

was no Soundness in them, nothing but Wounds, Bruises, and putrefied Sores.

Permit me now, Sir, to address you as a private Gentleman for one Moment only. And here, probably, you'll ask, Who it is that has taken the Pains to write you so long a Letter, and what were his real Motives and Inducements? As to the Writer, it is of no Consequence to you or the Publick who or what he is *: The only Point is, whether the Facts he relates be true or false, or if his Reasonings on them are just and conclusive. As to the Motives and Inducements, I will be open and candid; they were two, and two only. One was from an innate Love I bear my native Country, the other from a hearty Regard and sincere Attachment to your Royal Master. And if you could bring about that intire Change and Alteration in our whole System, both of foreign and domestic Policy, which I have so strongly recommended, I am confident in a little Time it would greatly add to his Peace, Satisfaction, and Tranquility of Mind. But this is not all; it would contribute vastly to the Firmness and Stability of his Government, and that of his Royal and Illustrious House; which is my most sincere Desire and hearty Prayer.

It is an uncontroverted Point, that in all free Kingdoms and Nations upon Earth, as long as they retain their Liberty and Freedom, no King or Prince whatever can be said to be safe or secure on any other Foundation than what arises

R. from

from the real united Esteem, Affection, and Love of his Subjects; of which I could give you a Variety of Instances from different Parts of the World, but will mention but one only. If you'll examine carefully into the State and Condition of our King *James* the Second, at the Time he deserted the Kingdom, you'll find he had a very considerable Navy, a very great and powerful Army, his Finances in no very bad Condition; yet he had so far lost the Love and Affection of his People, that a Man was not to be found that would fire a single Musket in his Defence; and if he had obtain'd a Riot Act into the Bargain, it would have afforded him not the least Security.

I am not conscious to myself of having made any Error or Mistake in this long Scribble. If I have, I hope the apparent Honesty and Uprightness of my Intentions will, in some measure, atone for it. I expect no Benefit or Advantage to my self, of a single Groat, for the Pains I have taken: Yea, so far from it, I look upon it as certain that I am to be treated for it with Scurrility and Reproach. But this can be only from the Minds of the little, narrow, and contracted Bigots of both Parties, who even yet, notwithstanding the clearest Evidence and most demonstrative Proof, will remain in a State of Blindness, Ignorance, and amazing Stupidity†. The Censure or Applause of such Persons are equally and alike acceptable to every honest

† One of the most celebrated Writers that this Nation has ever

honest and sensible Man. Whoever will serve his Country really, and in good Earnest, must hazard something. If I should be able to reflect I have served my Country, this alone would be an ample Satisfaction, and a Reward which no Man can take from me†.

If it should be thought I am mistaken in any of my Sentiments on Government or Policy, the Fault must be laid at the Door of my Lord Bacon, the Earl of Shaftsbury, Mr. Locke, Sir William Temple, the Archbishop of Cambray, and a few others of our most eminent Writers on these Subjects: For I here affirm I have advanced nothing but what is quite consistent with their declared and avowed Sentiments.

But, to return to yourself; the Archbishop of Cambray was born a *Frenchman*, and educated a Priest: However, I don't believe that *Europe* has ever yet produced ten Men that entertained more noble or exalted Sentiments of Virtue, Humanity, or real Patriotism. In one of his Tracts he talks a good deal of Great Ministers of State, and Deputy Rulers and Governors of Kingdoms and Provinces; and says we oftentimes see those great Men, when got in Possession of Power, merely to gratify their own Pride and Wantonness, their insatiable Avarice and Ambition, will make the Lives of Thousands, or perhaps of Millions, wretched.

sons, and private Opinions, says, " These sort of Men set out in Life with poor Beginnings of Knowledge, and grow up under such Remains of Superstition and Ignorance; that it is no Wonder if such Men get Habits of thinking only in one Way; and these Habits in Time grow rigid and confirmed; and so their Minds come to be over-cast with thick Prejudices, scarce penetrable by any Ray of Truth or Light of Reason."

Vide The Religion of Nature delineated,
by WOLLASTON, pa. 129.

† One self-approving Hour whole Years outweighs
Of stupid Stagers, and of loud Huzzas!

wretched and miserable. But, he says, it frequently happens that Vengeance and Disgrace pursues them even in this World; but if they are permitted quietly and silently to retire out of it, they all then descend to the Regions below, where the cruel *Danaides* are eternally drawing Water in leaky Vessels; where *Ixion* for ever turns his Wheel; where *Tantalus* burning with Thirst cannot taste the Streams, which fly from his Lips; where *Sisyphus* in vain up-rolls an ever-falling Stone; and where *Tityus* will eternally feel the gnawing Vulture in his ever-growing Bowels.

Our own Countryman, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, had something of the same noble Turn of Mind. He says, to love the Publick, to study universal Good, and to promote the Interest of the whole Community, as far as lies in our Power, is surely the Height of Goodness, and makes that Temper which we call divine.

May God Almighty inspire you with those noble and generous Sentiments. Then, Sir, whatever may be your Fate here, whether you stand or fall, you'll always enjoy the silent Applause and Approbation of your own Mind and Conscience, you'll finish Life with Decency and Honour, with that certain Nobleness and Firmness of Mind which every Good and Great Man would wish to do, and will transmit your Name and Character to future Ages with Honour and Renown, the immortal Reward of Men who worthily discharge Publick Trust. I will detain you no longer, but remain, with the highest Esteem and Regard,

S I R,

Your most obedient

and very humble Servant.

